THE LIFE

OF

SAINT MALACHY O'MORGAIR,

Bishop of Down and Connor,

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,

Patron of these several Dioceses,

AND

DELEGATE APOSTOLIC OF THE HOLY SEE FOR THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

BY THE REV. JOHN O'HANLON.

"He pleased God and was beloved, and living among sinners he was translated."

Wisdom, iv. 10.

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Dedication.

TO

THE MOST REVEREND JOSEPH DIXON, D.D.,

Archbishop of Armagh,

AND

PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND,

WHOSE DISTINGUISHED VIRTUES AND TALENTS, SO DESERVEDLY APPRECIATED AND ESTEEMED IN THE IRISH CHURCH,

HAVE PROCURED FOR HIM SUCCESSION TO THAT ANTIENT PRIMATIAL SEE, OVER WHICH HIS CANONIZED PREDECESSOR,

ST. MALACHY O'MORGAIR,

FORMERLY PRESIDED,

THE FOLLOWING MEMOIR OF THE LATTER ILLUSTRIOUS PRELATE, WITH KIND PERMISSION OF HIS GRACE, IS MOST RESPECTFULLY AND HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE LIFE OF ST. MALACHY O'MORGAIR, as written originally in Latin, by the illustrious St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, is undoubtedly one of the most interesting and authentic biographies, in the whole range of Irish Hagiology. Both of these holy persons were united in the bonds of friendship, by the most tender and enduring of all sympathies and affections; and the survivor has left upon record, in an admired and elegant production, a memorial of the actions, merits, and virtues of his deceased friend, Malachy. The life of the latter, by St. Bernard, has of course furnished the groundwork for the present biography. But the publication of many of our Irish annals, modern histories, and various MSS., has tended to illustrate the narrative of St. Bernard, and has presented many material additional facts, which add conderably to the interest and completeness of the Life of St. Malachy O'Morgair. The writer has availed himself of these various sources of information; and, in addition, he has given the fullest and most authentic particulars of the dispersion and subsequent partial preservation of the Saint's relics in France, from the period of his death to the present day; the bull of his canonization and memorials of his veneration at Clairvaux and elsewhere; the various writings attributed to him in Latin and Irish, including an original Irish poem, and its translation into English, furnished by Professor Eugene O'Curry; the various churches, chapels, and religious institutions founded by or dedicated to the Saint in Ireland and in distant countries, from the twelfth to the nineteenth century; the state of society and of the Irish Church during the lifetime of this holy Bishop; the nature of abuses prevailing, owing to a laxity of morals and discipline; the subject of lay usurpations of ecclesiastical benefices; the origin and meaning of Coarbs, Erenachs, Termon tenures, &c., are examined and illustrated by reference to recondite sources of information, and as they bear upon the subject of this celebrated Saint's biography. In fine, no exertion has been spared to render the present work the most copious, well arranged, and ac-

curate biographical narrative of an Irish Saint, that has been hitherto published, in the English language. As the object of the writer has been to render it a truthful record of the actions, character, and virtues of an illustrious Irish prelate, he trusts that it will be found to throw considerable light on the state of the Church and of religion, in our country, at an important period of history. He can also safely calculate on the pleasing anticipation, that from the tone and spirit in which the work is written, no reasonable person of any religious denomination will have occasion to find fault, with the mode of treatment and matter produced; even, if the writer's peculiar opinions and deductions be questioned, in particular instances.

The original draught of the following Life of St. Malachy O'Morgair had been already published—but in a much more succinct and imperfect form than here presented—in an American periodical, which obtained, and yet upholds, a large weekly circulation, amongst Irish emigrants and their descendants, in the United States. The Journal alluded to is known as the *Boston Pilot;* and, in successive numbers of this paper, during the months of February, March, and April, in the year 1853, nine consecutive chapters comprised the *memoir* of our great national Saint, as then published. Whilst the writer resided in the city of St. Louis, in the United States of America, that very imperfect biography had been commenced, in the month of May, 1851, and completed during the summer of the same year. The circumstances, under which it had been composed, were not favourable for the successful completion of a work, demanding a considerable amount of time and research, to render it accurate and elaborate. A fearful epidemic spread pestilence and death throughout the city of St. Louis, during that season; and, the consequent demands, on the time of an insufficient number of missionary clergymen, to minister to the wants of a large Catholic population, left few intervals of leisure, for extrinsic occupations. The limited resources of a small private library, and books borrowed from individuals to whom they belonged, furnished almost the sole materials, at the disposal of the writer, to enable him to engage upon his self-imposed task. Even these books—with the exception of the Benedictine edition of St. Bernard's works—were not of any peculiar value, as materials, to serve for the complete illus-

tration of the life and times of St. Malachy O'Morgair. Want of leisure and opportunity would not admit of frequent or prolonged visits to public libraries, that were accessible to the writer; but these impediments to literary pursuits were of little consequence, as the biblical collections alluded to contained few important works of a purely national and Irish character, however rich in other departments of literature. Many of the paragraphs, constituting the original brief sketch of our Saint's Life, were also written, at irregular and interrupted intervals of time. Under such circumstances, it was not possible to write the biography of St. Malachy O'Morgair, with all the attention and completeness required, for the adequate illustration of a subject, possessing a great amount of interest and importance, in connection with our national Hagiology and mediæval ecclesiastical History.

Change of position and more favourable opportunities have enabled the writer to enlarge and improve, in many respects, the *feuilleton* chapters of the original sketch of our Saint's life. These chapters, in the present edition, have been remodelled, subdivided or enlarged, with the introduction of additional information, heretofore omitted, or not accessible, to the writer. Numerous notes and references are to be found interspersed, throughout the following pages, serving to illustrate the Saint's biography, which were necessarily left out, and the matter for which was unattainable, in the first issue of the Life of Saint Malachy O'Morgair.

The present *memoir* of one of our most celebrated and holy Prelates was the first of the series of "Lives of the Irish Saints," commenced by the writer; and the importance of the subject, and of the period to which it refers, induced him to issue it in a separate form, lest want of time and opportunity should prevent a publication of the more voluminous work, preparing for the press, in which it is intended, that it should also be included. Greater research and more elaborate exertions might have been employed, and perhaps, would have been devoted, by the author, to the matter, composition and arrangement of the succeeding chapters of this great Saint's biography, but for the necessity he had imposed on himself of collecting and arranging the materials, requisite for the completion of the larger hagiographical work. As the treatment of the latter is designed to be critically accurate, in

a historical point of view, and complete as a record, so far as the memorials, at the disposal of the writer, will allow; the Life of St. Malachy O'Morgair, which follows, should be considered as constituting only a portion of the general plan, intended for adoption, should circumstances favour the issue of his entire series of sacred biographies. Whilst fully sensible of the advantages of ornate style, as adopted in the several beautifully written Lives of various Saints, that have lately appeared, in the English language; yet, the graces of composition were considered of secondary importance to the much greater and more laborious effort of endeavouring to reconcile conflicting dates and accounts with the probabilities of our history, to analyse and discriminate the statements of previous writers, and to place on record the various memorials, relating to our national Saints. Should even a partial success crown such attempts, no inconsiderable amount of service shall have been rendered, towards the illustration of Irish ecclesiastical History and Hagiology; and, hereafter we may have just reason to expect, that writers combining great literary qualifications and genius, with profound learning and research, will produce for the delight and admiration of future generations, those vivid and truthful pictures of the past, which may not sacrifice the outline and colouring of facts, to the proprieties of style and to the ornaments of language.

The author must gratefully record his obligations to Professor Eugene O'Curry, for his interesting and valuable contributions, which will be found disposed throughout the following chapters. To John W. Hanna, Esq., Downpatrick, he is indebted, not only for a variety of useful suggestions and information, but also, for a large accession to his list of subscribers to the present work. The Rev. James O'Laverty of Belfast has in like manner manifested the interest he took, in its publication. The writer's obligations to John O'Donovan, Esq., LL.D. are of a substantial character. To the several other persons, who have procured information, on various points of interest connected with the subject of the present biography, special acknowledgments are due, and will be found rendered, in the succeeding pages.

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Prospectus of a New Work preparing for publication, to be entitled, THE LIVES OF THE IRISH SAINTS, &c. In Twelve Royal Octavo Volumes.

Life of Saint Malachy O'Morgair,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—St. Bernard undertakes the biography of our saint, at the request of the abbot Congan.—Preliminary observations.—Birth and early education of Malachy.—Anecdotes of his youth.—He embraces a religious life.

In the earlier period of Irish ecclesiastical history, our ancestors had already designated, as their Apostles, those holy men, who were particularly distinguished amongst the saints of this Island. Like the elected followers of the Saviour of mankind, who were destined ot bear his standard amongst the nations, not yet subject to the mild yoke of Gospel truth, the Irish people recognized their "chosen twelve," amongst the host of saintly men, that had laboured on their home mission, and built up the Church of God, in Ireland. Although ages had lapsed since the demise of the last of these Apostles, well may we suppose, that their race was not extinct, whilst the distinguished Reformer of disciplinary abuses in the Irish Church was yet reserved for a career of usefulness, in the vineyard of the Lord. The great missionary of the Gentiles described himself, as one born out of due time, and as the least and most unworthy of the Apostles;* yet observed, that, although as nothing in his own estimation, he had in no manner occupied a secondary position to those that were above measure Apostles.† Whilst the humility of St. Paul led him to indulge in a portion of his recorded sentiments, his zeal and fervour, his heavenly visions and apostolic labours have justified the expressions which were dictated by a strict consciousness, no less of their truth, than of their expediency. The subject of the present memoir had, doubtless, through humility considered himself, as one born out of his time, and as least and most unworthy, if at all deserving companionship, with the early Apostles of the Irish Church; but, at the moment of his happy departure from this world, he must have looked back with the assured confidence and consoling reflection, that his labours

* 1 *Corinthians*, xv., 8, 9.
† 2 *Corinthians*, xii., 11.

had not been vain, and that happy results had been produced by his exertions, in well ordering the churches committed to his charge, and in promoting the reign of grace in the hearts of men. Therefore, might he claim the inheritance and reward of the apostleship, amongst our sainted men; and the Prelates, Pastors, and people of our national Church have vindicated his title to pre-eminent sanctity, confirmed as it has been by the successor of Peter, who pronounced the decree of his Canonization, and by the voice of the Universal Church, which will not cease to proclaim his glory to the end of time, and in the most remote countries of the habitable globe.

Illustrious individuals have not always found contemporary biographers capable of giving expression to the judgment of posterity, regarding the actions and lives of persons, whose memories form the subject of so many different treatises. The prejudices and passions of the moment will find vent in statements, founded on the distaste or partiality of the writers; and, sufficient time must elapse, before candor and judgment will be able to discriminate between conflicting accounts. A Plutarch, a Cornelius Nepos, a Quintus Curtius, and a Suetonius have described those events of Grecian and Roman history, which are connected with eminent personages; and yet, for the sake of posterity, it were to be desired, that these biographers possessed the advantages of a more intimate connection, in point of time, with the heroes of antiquity, who were the subjects of their memoirs, as was the case with Tacitus, in relation to Agricola, or with Sallust, in reference to Cataline. Church History and Hagiology furnish numerous and respectable writers, in every age and country, to record the lives and actions of contemporary events and personages; but, we must also admit, that a want of due discrimination has oftentimes betrayed many of our monastic writers into accounts, hardly reconcilable with probability, and very defective—but in a minor degree—on the score of tasteless compilation and inferior style. The latter objections cannot apply to the biographer of the Saint, whose accounts have been for the most part embodied, in the following relation of the life, actions, miracles, and death of St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh. It is related of Alexander, when standing over the tomb of Achilles, that he envied the fortune of the hero, who had found a Homer to celebrate his deeds.* Had St. Malachy been desirous of a chronicler to commemorate his virtues and actions, he could not have found one,

* "Cum in Sigæo ad Achillis tumulum: O fortunate, inquit, adolescens, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris! Et vere. Nam, nisi Ilias illa extitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, etiam nomen obruisset." *Cicero pro Archia Poeta.* n. 24.

The same sentiment has been thus rendered into English verse, by the poet Spenser:—

> "For not to have been dipt in Lethe lake,
> Could save the sonne of Thetis from to die;
> But that blinde bard did him immortall make
> With verses, dipt in deaw of Castalie:
> Which made the Easterne conquerour to crie,
> O fortunate yong-man! whose vertue found
> So brave a trompe, thy noble acts to sound."
>
> *The Ruins of Time.*

more capable of doing justice to his memory, than his illustrious friend and biographer, St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux. Such was not, however, the ambition of our Saint; yet, in the elegant Latinity and unctuous eloquence of one of the most admired Fathers of the Western Church, the name and reputation of St. Malachy have not been confined to the country of his birth nor the age in which he lived, but have been held in benediction throughout the whole Christian world from his own, to the present time.

St. Bernard was induced to write the Life of his friend, St. Malachy O'Morgair, at the instance of a certain abbot, named Congan.* That this Congan was a native of Ireland would appear, not only from the name he bore, but from the circumstance, related by St. Bernard, of the former having written to him from that Island, in his own name, and in the name of "the whole church of saints," belonging to that country, with a request to embody the particulars of our saint's Life, in the form of a narrative. This request would appear to have been accompanied by an observation, that a simple exposition of authentic particulars would only be required, without regard to beauty of style, or the words of human eloquence. The just reputation of St. Bernard as a writer, and the knowledge of those intimate relations which had existed between him and the deceased saint, were all sufficient to lead the Irish ecclesiastics to a natural inference, that provided they could secure the services of St. Bernard, in the biography of his friend St. Malachy, the work would have been undertaken as a labour of love, and the result of its completion would leave the world an admired

* From a subsequent passage in the life of St. Malachy, in which St. Bernard speaks of "abbati Cogano nostro," to whom a young man had been presented by our saint, which young man afterwards lived in the Cistercian monastery of Suriense; it is almost certain, Dr. Lanigan supposes, that the Cogan or Congan in question was identical with the Congan, named in the text, who helped St. Bernard with materials for the life of St. Malachy, and who induced the Abbot of Clairvaux to undertake that biography. See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol. IV. Chap.* xxvii. §. x. and *n.* 65. *pp.* 129, 130. According to Sir James Ware, Congan is said to have written, *Gesta Malachiæ Archiepiscopi Armachani*, Lib. I., and *Epistolæ quædam, ad D. Bernardum.* On this matter, Harris observes, from the preface to St. Bernard's life of our saint, we should rather judge, "that Congan only furnished *St. Bernard* with materials for writing the Life of *Malachy*, than that he writ the Life of that Prelate himself; though *John Hartrey*, a Cistertian monk of the Abby of *Holycross* in the County of *Tipperary*, is positive in making *Congan* the Writer of a Life of *Malachy*." *Harris' Ware, Vol. II. Writers of Ireland, Book I. p.* 71. According to Thady Dowling, also, Congan wrote the Acts of St. Bernard, as well as the "Gesta Malachiæ"; and he is called the patron of "Killuskin aliter Killeshin in Margge Lagenie." See, *Annales Breves Hiberniæ, auctore Thaddæo Dowling, p.* 8. Edited by the Very Rev. Richard Butler, M.R.I.A., for the Irish Archæological Society. Dr. Lanigan does not appear to have remarked the difference between the name Congan, as written in the preface to the Life of St. Malachy, and Cogan, as the Abbot is named, to whom the young man had been presented. Neither does he appear to have noticed what Dr. Hanmer writes, in his *Chronicle of Ireland*, after speaking of our saint: "In his time lived *Conganus*, Abbot of Benchor, who enformed *Bernard* of the whole life of *Malachias*, and wrote at large thereof himselfe, inserting many fabulous things, and saith *Nicholas Maguire*, he wrote not onely the life of *Malachias*, but also the life of *Bernard*. I finde him to be the patron of Killaskin, otherwise called Killeshin, in Monte Margeo, and the Barony of Marghagha in Leynster, spoken of before." *pp.* 209, 210. *Dublin edition of* 1809, 8*vo.*

production, creditable alike to the writer, and to the subject of his memoir. Nor were these expectations disappointed. Whilst St. Bernard assents to the proposal, he declares, that he would apply himself to the task, with a desire to render his narrative simple and perspicuous, and a subject of information to the devout, whilst he would endeavour to avoid the error of making it uninteresting to those, who were disposed to be critical. He does not promise that the life shall be a model of excellence, in point of style; but, on this subject, subsequent ages have pronounced a definitive opinion. It would seem, also, that his petitioners had furnished St. Bernard, with materials from Ireland, for the life of the holy Prelate; and, that these were of an authentic character, as had been ascertained, on the testimony of persons worthy of credit. Relying on these statements, and doubtless on other facts relating to our saint, of which the holy abbot of Clairvaux was himself personally cognizant, St. Bernard promises that at least the veracity of his narrative shall not suffer injury under his treatment.

Although, the dear friend so much loved had been removed from earth, as his biographer remarks, St. Bernard thought, that of those who had been translated to happiness, it would not be adjudged an ungrateful act, to endeavour to revive the memory amongst men of that holy man and bishop Malachy, the glory of his age and generation. Full of wisdom and of virtue—a burning and a shining light, not extinguished but removed from the gaze of men—could his surviving friend St. Bernard be justly reproved, if he endeavoured to restore this bright lamp of the faithful, by the record of his glorious actions? The writer assures himself, that the people of his own age, and of all succeeding time, would owe a debt of gratitude to him, if he should succeed in reproducing for the world's admiration, the character of that holy man, of whom the world was not worthy; and, if he should preserve in the memory of men, the virtues of that great saint, whose name should be held in benediction, by all those, who might read his biography. And, if the faithful biographer of St. Malachy could only awaken the fame of his sleeping friend, he had an intuition, that the voice of the dove would be heard for ever upon earth, saying; "Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world."* Again, comes the consideration, that as Malachy was buried at Clairvaux, the abbot of this place, and the friend specially loved by our saint, must needs render a debt of justice to his memory. And his familiarity, with a man of such distinguished holiness, was not without its reward to St. Bernard, who had already received those first fruits, which have their origin, even at the end of life, according to the language of the inspired writings; "When a man hath done, then shall he begin."† With feelings of religious gratitude, when his friend Malachy was at the point of death, the abbot of Clairvaux hastened to receive his parting benediction; and, when our saint could no longer move his other limbs, he made an effort to raise his sacred hands to impart that blessing. Rejoicing in the benediction thus obtained, was it possible for the surviving saint to maintain silence, regarding the virtues

* *Matt.* xxviii. 20.
† *Eccles.* xviii. 6.

and actions of the holy bishop, who had preceded him on the road to Heaven? To write the life of a departed saint, with the requisite unction, would require the inspirations and graces of a living one. Malachy had enjoyed his everlasting reward, whilst Bernard prosecuted his mortal pilgrimage, and left to all future time, the record of those virtues and miracles, which rendered the memory of the former saint so illustrious, and worthy of all veneration.*

Truly, it is an agreeable, although a difficult task, worthily to describe the lives and miracles of the saints, that they may appear before men, as moving spectacles and edifying examples; that, becoming salt of the earth, the names of these Christian heroes shall live amongst the

* As the life of St. Malachy, written by St. Bernard, is to be found included in the numerous editions of the works of the latter saint, it may be necessary to notice here, that the edition to which reference is particularly made, in the marginal notes, throughout the present *memoir*, is the Benedictine, published at Paris, in 1839, in two volumes, 8vo. There are various lives of our saint, published in different languages; but all accounts, regarding him, are for the most part drawn, from those written by St. Bernard, in the first instance. In addition to the published Acts of St. Malachy, I have also consulted two different Bernardine manuscript lives of him, which I found in two of the public libraries of Dublin.

In the MS. entitled Codex Kilkenniensis, in Marsh's Library, Dublin, the *Vita S. Malachiæ*, with its preface, written by St. Bernard, is to be found, in an imperfect state. It commences at folio 148, and wants folio 153. The last vellum page of folio 158 is so defaced by friction and otherwise discoloured, as to be almost illegible; yet, I have been enabled to discover, that the life of our saint by St. Bernard was fully completed, on that page. I think I can also rather indistinctly trace the following sentence in addition: "Explicit vita Sancti Malachiæ archiepiscopi Ardmachanæ." A fragment of a folio follows, which is occupied on one side by some defaced Latin characters, yet in part legible; and, most certainly in the original state, this quarter folio was not of larger dimensions, as no part of the characters are lost, however undecipherable. On the other side, in like manner, there is a list of the saints contained in the MS., with references to the folios, where their several lives commence, and the day of the month, on which their respective festivals were held. This list appears to have fully completed the MS. in its original state, although there are indications of an additional vellum folio added. It is likely, the latter was blank, and had been removed in that state, to serve another purpose. The text of the *Vita S. Malachiæ*, found in this MS., and that published by St. Bernard, are almost identical. I have noticed some slight verbal discrepancies, such as omissions, and sometimes additions or involutions of words, in the MS., differing from the published life. There are also some marginal notes in the MS. in contracted Latin, and in the modern English characters. The life itself throughout is written in the former characters. In a beautifully written MS. classed F 4. 6., belonging to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, I find another copy of St Bernard's *Vita S. Malachiæ*, commencing at the folio page, marked 188, and it continues to the end of the Codex. The latter portion of the Codex, and of our Saint's Life, is imperfect. After the first page, at which the prologue of the Abbot Congan commences, the remaining pages (72 in all, or 36 folios) are not numbered. The transcriber has the death of our saint related, before the imperfect conclusion of the biography occurs; and towards the close of the memoir, by mistake, he has added a portion of the funeral oration of St. Bernard on St. Malachy, to the matter contained in the published life. I find, in the first portions of this MS. life, a few immaterial verbal changes, from the text of the Benedictine edition. It is a MS., written in contracted Latin, and apparently not older than the thirteenth century, to which period it is referred by Mr. Mason, in his Catalogue of Trinity College, MSS. It differs, also, in the division of its chapters, from the published life. This life is in a fine state of preservation, so far as the existing folios are concerned, and the characters are largely and legibly traced, in jet black ink. It is also beautifully illuminated throughout, especially in the first portion of our saint's life, which is preceded by the *Vita S. Patricii* of Jocelyn.

faithful, even when their bodies repose in the silent seclusion of the tomb. Many of those who live upon earth, when dead to the influences of Divine grace, are again recalled to vitality, by an effort to emulate the virtues, which departed saints had been enabled to practise during their lives. Even in the time of St. Bernard, it is lamented, that holiness was rarely found amidst the prevailing corruption of the age; and that saintly men were the exceptions, amongst the great body of professing Christians. To that age, no less than to the present, might be applied the expressions of holy scripture; "And because iniquity hath abounded, the charity of many shall grow cold."* The want of holy men, in his age and country, caused St. Bernard to fear that the scriptural sentiment, "Poverty goeth before his face,"† would be found applicable to the time; and that the sterility of good works, preceding and accompanying the period, at which he wrote, might be compared to the reign of Antichrist, which had either began upon earth, or which might shortly be expected to commence. Nor did the saint allude merely to the laity, or to the vast multitude of the children of his generation; but, even to persons, who should be reputed the pillars of the Church, and to numbers of those, who were sent to be the light of nations, and who were expected to send forth flame, and not smoke, from the watch towers on which they were placed. With a true zeal for the interests of religion, the holy watchman of an indefectible Church, reproachfully cites the words of the sacred volume, "If then the light that is in thee, be darkness, the darkness itself how great shall it be."‡ Thus would the saint renew the recollection of those engagements, into which ecclesiastics had entered, when embracing a state of life, that required exemplary holiness for the faithful discharge of the duties of their sacred office. For, the saint would not believe those men to be lights of the Church, who confounded piety with temporal gain and honors. Neither had those persons assumed the inheritance of the Lord in the Church, who sought their own comfort and convenience, rather than the glory of the Most High. But, even granting, he says, that a Christian restrains his heart and hand from other men's possessions, must he be considered perfect and holy, if he should only seek and retain what justly belongs to him? Such a person should remember, that the very Heathens require this lowly degree of morality, in the most common occurrences of life. To secure their salvation, are soldiers ordered merely to rest satisfied with their pay?§ Shall the pastors of the Church, therefore, be considered worthy of honor, if they conduct themselves only after the manner of common soldiers? Most assuredly not: for the inspired prophet exclaims to the reproach of the latter class; "And it shall be as with the people, so with the priest."‖ It would be a sad reflection and reproach, that he, whose merit ought to be greatly exalted, should seek rather to descend from the highest to the lowest grade, on which he might desire to take his station, without incurring the danger of actually falling into the abyss beneath him. And yet, continues the

* *Matt.* xxiv. 12.
† *Job,* xli. 13.
‡ *Matt.* vi. 23.
§ *Luke,* iii. 14.
‖ *Isaiah,* xxiv. 2.

holy Bernard, is not this low degree of sanctity exceptional amongst the clergy; and how seldom shall we find one, who is content with the mere necessaries of life, despising its superfluities? However, a different law is laid down by the Apostles, for the successors of the Apostles, when it is said, "But having food, and wherewith to be covered, with these we are content."* But, although we find these maxims in the sacred volume, we scarcely find them illustrated, in the lives of men. The law of God is written in the heart of a just man,† and not alone in the book. There is no limit to perfection, and the perfect man is prepared to want even the necessaries of life. In our day, however, he who is not greatly depraved is considered an excellent person, observes the saint; and, it is a difficult matter to find one, who sets a bound to his avaricious desires, and who does not require things, that are altogether superfluous. The same saint remarks, we shall experience some difficulty in finding that perfect man, who shall be able to save himself, and become the saviour of many others.‡ Such are the observations of St. Bernard, immediately prefixed to the biography of his friend. Amongst the seventeen elegant lives of confessors published in the Italian language by the learned Jesuit Maffei, his translation of St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy occupies the first place.

It is to be presumed, that the materials obtained by St. Bernard, for the life of his friend, were partly furnished from a personal knowledge of St. Malachy's virtues and character, as also, from conversations with the holy prelate, and with the brethren from Ireland, who lived for some time under the direction of, and in immediate communication with, the Abbot of Clairvaux. It is also probable, that much information was derived by the latter, from accounts sent by the Abbot Congan, from Ireland, where they had been carefully and eagerly collected, from the most authentic sources, with a view of rendering a just tribute to the memory of the departed prelate. And the reflection, that the biography of the illustrious saint was to be confided to the treatment of a celebrated and saintly writer and doctor of the Church, contributed not a little, to interest the expectancy of the friends and admirers of the holy Malachy. That these hopes and exertions had not been doomed to disappointment will appear from the most cursory perusal of the life of our saint, as found in the published works of the illustrious St. Bernard.

Malachy, or according to the Irish surname, Maol-Maodhog O'Mungair or O'Morgair§ was perhaps born at Armagh, in the year 1093 or

* 1 *Tim.* vi. 8.

† *Psalm* xxxvi. 31.

‡ See *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, Præfatio ad Conganum Abbatem.* §§ 1, 2. *pp.* 1465, 1466, 1467. *Opera S. Bernardi, tomus II.*

§ This family name was afterwards changed to O'Dougherty. O'Mungair is the name given to the father of our Saint by Ussher and Colgan, on the authority of the Annals of Ulster, which mention the death of O'Mungair at the year 1102, on the 5th day of October. Dr. Lanigan, on the authority of various Irish annals, supposes him to have been the father of our Saint. "Mugronus O'Mungair, Armachiæ et totius Occidentalis Europæ Lector Primarius, multis testibus præsentibus, III. Nonas Octobris vitam feliciter finivit." *Ussher, De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis, cap. xvii. p.* 861. See, also, *Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga. Septima Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii. Pars iii. p.* 299. In O'Conor's edition of the *Annales*

1094.* The word Maol signifies tonsured, and prefixed to Maodhog means one tonsured or placed under the protection of the saint of this name, who was first Bishop of Ferns. The pious custom, of placing infants under the guardianship of patron saints, was very common amongst Irish parents, and can be traced in the names given to some of the Archbishops, who preceded St. Malachy, in the Metropolitan See of Armagh. The names Maol-Cob, Maol-Bridgit, Maol-Patrick, and Maol-Isa furnish instances in illustration. From such compounds, baptismal names were formed, and we have reason to suppose that the pious mother of Malachy destined him from early youth to the service of God, as she was careful to instil the maxims and precepts of virtue into the mind of her infant charge. The parents of our saint were persons of distinction, and according to St. Bernard, the mother was far more distinguished by the gifts of mind, than by those of birth and

Ultonienses, at the year 1102, we read, "Mugronius O'Morgar Archipræfectus studiorum Ardmachæ, et Occidentalis Europæ totius, coram multis testibus, tertio Nonas Octobris suam vitam feliciter finivit, i.e. in Mungarit." See, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores. Tom. iv. p.* 366. The Annals of Innisfallen agree in this particular, and style him "Professor of literature." Colgan, after relating the death of Mugronus O'Morgair, says: "Fuit hic cognatus S. Malachiæ Hua Morgair, Hiberniæ: qui ex perantiquæ nobilitatis familia olim Hua Morgair, hodie Dochartinorum dicta fertur oriundus." *Trias Thaumaturga. Septima Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii. Pars iii. p.* 299. Hence, it would seem that Mugron O'Morgair was not the father of our saint, although he was a relative or kinsman of Malachy. He died at Mungret, in the County Limerick, according to Dr. Lanigan. *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol.* iv. *chap.* xxvi. § 11, and *n.* 16, *pp.* 52 to 54. "It is therefore not singular, that Mugron O'Morgair, although of high and powerful connections, was a professor." *Ibid,* § v. *n.* 40, *p.* 61. Such is the conclusion of this learned Irish ecclesiastical historian, after citing numerous instances of persons of high rank, who addicted themselves to the pursuit of literature in Ireland, and to the profession of teaching. In a poem, attributed to our saint, who is also called Moelmoedoc Ua Mongair, I find him styled the "son of Diarmait." This poem will be found in a subsequent chapter of the present life.

St. Bernard alluding to Armagh remarks: "Ipsa est, in qua alitus est Malachias." *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap.* 11. § 4, *p.* 1470. *Opera S. Bernardi, Tomus* 11. From these expressions we may infer that he lived in Armagh during the period of his childhood. On this particular question, regarding St. Malachi's native place, in a letter received from Mr. Hanna, and dated Downpatrick, October 21st, 1858, the writer says: "I cannot think it was Armagh, for if so, why would St. Bernard say he was *bred* there, and not say *born* also? It is quite evident his mother belonged to the Ards of the County Down, and to some tribe, in the neighbourhood of Bangor; certainly, not to the O'Hanrattys, as they were always located in Omeath, a district of the County Armagh, bordering Carlingford Lough."

* According to the statement of St. Bernard, our saint died on the 2nd day of November, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. The year in which his death occurred was 1148. From the foregoing admitted data, Dr. Lanigan maintains, that unless we are to suppose, he was born at a time of year later than this, his birth must have occurred in 1095. The same learned historian assigns his birth "in all probability," to the year first indicated. See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol.* IV. *chap. xxvi.* § *v. p.* 59, and *n.* 42, *p.* 61, *Ibid.* It is strange, that Dr. Lanigan falls into a palpable error in his calculation here, and one which the reader can easily correct. It is evident, that in case the premises be admitted, the birth of St. Malachy must have occurred, in all probability, in the year 1094. If St. Malachy was born after the 2nd of November, we must place the event in 1093, as it is usually considered certain, that he died in the year 1148, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Dr. Lanigan's supposition could only be the correct one, by imagining that St. Bernard must be understood as conveying the meaning that our saint died not *in,* but *approximating to,* the fifty-fourth year of his life.

fortune. Although not unmindful of his secular education, this pious parent conceived the knowledge, "which maketh wise unto salvation," of far greater consideration, in the training of a son, whose early dispositions were moulded with such a becoming solicitude. His youthful progress more than corresponded with the warmest expectations of his mother, and showed that her labor of love had not been vainly undertaken.

The schools of Armagh,* in such high repute not only in Ireland, but in all the adjoining countries, furnished the means of education to Malachy, who was placed under the guidance of a master, selected by his parents on account of varied literary attainments, whilst his religious instruction was supplied under the paternal roof.† At an early

* Gratianus Lucius says, "Nimirum verè dixit scriptor vetus quod 'in Armach summum studium literale manet semper.' Nam studia literarum ita continenter in illa Academia floruerunt, ut ne rabies quidem Danorum per sacra et profana cædibus, et incendiis, furiosissimè grassantium cursum eorum interruperit," &c. *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. II., c. xxii., p. 428. Edited by the late lamented Rev. Dr. Kelly of Maynooth College. At the period of which we treat, the cause assigned by Lynch for the occasional interruption of studies at Armagh, had entirely ceased. The ancient annals of Armagh record its destruction by fire, in the years 1021, 1074, 1112, and 1179; but these conflagrations seem to have been occasioned by accident, as we have no record left that they were caused by these hostile Danish invasions, which, as a French writer expresses it, "Ce n'etoient que des torrens, qui ne faisoient que passer et qui souvent se dissipoient d'eux-memes." *D'Orleans' Histoire des Revolutions d'Angleterre. Tome* 1. *Liv. i. p.* 36.

† In Harris' Ware we read as follows:—"He was at first educated at *Armagh*, under the Abbat *Imar*, a Man of great Austerity, [who lived in a cell, near the Church; and to his Tuition he was committed in the fifth Year of his Age, A.D. 1100, with whom he continued seven years, making a considerable progress in Learning and Virtue.] From thence he was removed to *Lismore*, and put under the Government of *Malchus* [who was afterwards] Bishop of that See." *Vol. I. Archbishops of Armagh, p.* 54. In the foregoing sentences, there are several mistakes. For St. Bernard, who has left us the only authentic account extant of our saint's Acts, says expressly, that Malachy was placed under the tuition of a master before he became a disciple of Imar. The latter holy man was not an Abbot, but an Anchoret or Recluse; and, he does not appear to have kept a school for boys. Malachy appears to have been a grown-up youth, at the time our saint placed himself under Imar's direction. St. Bernard has no mention of Malachy's having been under the instruction of a master, at the age of five years, and in the year 1100. Again, there is no account of Malachy having spent seven years under the direction of Imar. According to these unfounded conjectures, our saint must have left Imar when only twelve years of age. In all probability that age must have been passed before Malachy placed himself under the direction of Imar. St. Bernard is silent with regard to the number of years which Malachy passed under Imar; but it appears certain, that our saint continued a disciple of his, until about the twenty-fifth year of his age, when he was ordained a priest. But a still more erroneous statement occurs, when it is said, that Malachy was removed from Imar's tuition, to Lismore. Thus, according to the natural meaning of Harris' words, we must suppose, that our saint was only twelve years of age, when he went directly from Imar's direction, to live under the government of Malchus at Lismore. The sequel of the narrative will show, that our saint did not leave Armagh for Lismore, until after he had been ordained a priest. Harris has followed the mistakes of his author Ware, and of Colgan, and has added some of his own. In his *Trias Thaumaturga, Septima Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, Pars III. p.* 299, Colgan assigns to the year 1100, the commencement of our saint's subjection to Imar's instruction. He says, that this may be collected from the first, second, and last chapters of St. Bernard's life of Malachy. I confess myself totally at a loss to account for this inference of Colgan, or to discover the grounds on which it is based.

age, Malachy made a great proficiency in secular learning, whilst he progressed also in the "fear of God, the beginning of wisdom." His teacher and mother derived great pleasure from the aptitude shown by the child, in acquiring the lessons they had given. The dispositions of childhood were manifested, in an amiable and gracious manner to all, with whom he formed an acquaintance. He was docile and obedient to his instructors; he applied himself with diligence and eagerness to his lessons; and, unlike the generality of youth, he had no relish for boisterous or unbecoming amusements. The more he was loved and praised for his good qualities of mind and heart, the more truly humble did he appear. In a short time, he surpassed all his equals at school, not alone in virtue, but in learning. The practice of religious duties he faithfully performed, by meditation, frequent prayer, the observance of the principal festivals, retirement, and a degree of abstinence, suited to his tender age. When the hours devoted to study would not allow him time to visit the church, and when he supposed that a frequent attendance there would attract too much notice, and induce too high an opinion of his virtuous dispositions, he was accustomed to lift up his pure hands to heaven in secret, and to invoke the divine assistance. In the performance of all his actions, he was careful to avoid the illusions of vain glory.

Some interesting anecdotes of the early youth of our saint have been recorded by St. Bernard. During the intervals of study the master and scholar took an occasional walk to a village, in the neighbourhood of Armagh. The boy, in such a manner as to escape observation, would often slacken his pace, and when the attention of his companion would be directed to other objects, extending his hands towards Heaven, Malachy poured forth an extemporary ejaculation with a sort of holy rapture. He then continued his walk with assumed composure. Thus, his humility induced him to conceal his pious actions, even from a companion and confidant, who, as his instructor and senior, would naturally bestow the meed of commendation on the holy dispositions of soul, that urged him to those impulsive external manifestations of piety. The biographer of our saint would not dwell at length, nor even cursorily, on the natural bent of the pious inclinations and actions, that adorned his childhood, being obliged to hasten towards a narrative of the more useful and greater actions which distinguished his subsequent career in life. He would only recur to a single incident, sufficiently illustrative of the hopes that might be entertained of his future sanctity.

The reputation of a certain professor of the liberal sciences, and a thirst of knowledge experienced by the youthful Malachy, induced a visit to the house occupied by the former. It was the intention of the boy to form an engagement with this professor to superintend and direct his studies. But, having entered his house for this purpose, he detected the professor in the act of tracing figures of an objectionable nature on the wall; and this action being indicative of a certain levity of mind, the pious youth desired no further acquaintance with him, and future intercourse was avoided. Thus, from a very early age, simplicity, humility, and purity distinguished his thoughts, words, and actions; and, as he advanced in years, he increased in wisdom and

grace, before God and man. For, much as he desired to become a proficient in profane literature and the liberal sciences; yet, this angelic child preferred the acquisition of a knowledge, that maketh wise unto salvation, and a chastity of spirit, that prepares the soul for a successful encounter with the powers of this world and with the prince of darkness. Fortified by this Christian preparation in his youth, when he attained a mature age, we shall not feel surprised if he fought the food fight, and if, having conquered his spiritual enemies, he obtained that imperishable crown of justice, the object and the reward of those, who faithfully persevere in the service of the Almighty.

These holy dispositions of childhood, gave early promise of the inheritance to which he was called. Conscious of the natural bent of his inclinations, and knowing the dangers to which his virtue would be exposed by an intercourse with the world, he was often accustomed to soliloquize in this manner:—"The spirit by which I am actuated, is not the spirit of this world. In what consists the difference? My inclinations have no more affinity with the allurements of the world, than light has with darkness. Mine proceed from God; for I well know what great favours I have received at his hands. My glorification is in the testimony of a consciousness of having derived from Him that innocence of life, that jewel of chastity, and that desire of sanctification, which are the more securely possessed, the more secretly they are preserved. Under the dominion of the world, none of these gifts can be secured. I hold, then, these treasures, in a frail vessel. It is, therefore, much to be feared, lest it be shattered in pieces, and that the oil of gladness which it bears, may be spilled. And, indeed, it becomes a matter of extreme probability, that I should furnish the occasion of wrecking it against the rocks and shelvings of the broken ways, encountered in my journey through life. Wherefore, in a single moment, should I loose all those graces, with which I had been previously endowed? Rather shall I resign them and myself to Him, from whom they have been derived. I also belong to Him. I shall give up my soul now for a time, lest I should loose it hereafter for eternity. What I am, and what I possess, where can they be more safely secured than in the custody of their Author? Who can be more solicitous to preserve them, more powerful to retain them, more faithful to restore them? He will preserve them safely; He will return them opportunely. Without reservation, then, as one of His own gifts, I devote myself to His service. Whatever I shall expend in the practice of virtue, shall not be altogether lost. Perhaps, it may be permitted me, to expect something in addition. The Lord returns with usury to the man who offers himself unconditionally. And so it has always proved. In like manner will He perfect and increase virtuous dispositions in my soul." Such were the reflections of the holy youth; and they formed the motives, which induced him to embrace a life, altogether devoted to the service of God.*

* *Vita S. Malachiæ, S. Bernardi, cap.* 1. § 1, 2, 3, *pp.* 1467, to 1470. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

CHAPTER II.

St. Malachy becomes a Disciple of Imar O'Aedhacan.—Docility and spiritual progress of the Saint.—He receives Holy Orders.—Reforms many abuses, in the discharge of his ministerial duties, at Armagh.

A HOLY man, named Imar O'Aedhacan, then lived in the city of Armagh, and occupying a cell in the vicinity of the church, he practised all the requirements of religion.* Retirement, continual vigils, prayer and fasting rendered his ascetic life the admiration of all those, to whom he was known. Malachy placed himself under the spiritual guardianship of this experienced anchorite, and was distinguished, in a short time, for the progress made in the way of perfection.†

Being characterised by his meekness and humility of spirit, the holy youth placed himself under the tuition of his pious instructor, to whose Christian direction he submitted, after having first derived from the Omnipotent Lord of Heaven and Earth those lessons of divine wisdom, which refreshed all the interior aspirations of his soul. Thus, although Malachy was taught by God; yet, wisely, and with caution, he sought a suitable master, from amongst men. The nature of the intercourse existing between the pupil and the teacher, in this particular instance, occurs to St. Bernard, as one deserving the attention, both of persons who undertake the charge of instructing others, and of those who submit themselves to the direction of spiritual guides. Whilst the one class should not be anxious to acquire disciples, without a capability of imparting secular and spiritual knowledge, as otherwise they would become blind guides to the blind, to use the expression of the Sacred Scriptures; the other description of persons, whilst possessing the gifts of Divine Grace themselves, should also seek instructors, interiorly illuminated from on high, that thus a mutual interchange of benefits might be the result. The example of St. Malachy may be compared with the works and sentiments of St. Paul, as expressed in his Epistle to the Galatians.‡ For, although the Apostle of the Gentiles declares, that his apostleship was not from men, nor by man, but from Jesus Christ, and from God the Father, and that his Gospel was not preached according to man, nor received of man, but taught and learned by him through Divine Revelation; nevertheless,

* In *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, vol.* II. p.p. 1046, 1047, the death of Imhar Ua h Aedhagain is recorded under the year 1134. It is there stated, that he was the erector of the Church of Paul and Peter, at Armagh. His death took place at Rome, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage. His name is Anglicised "Ivor O'Hegan," by Mr. O'Donovan. See *n.* (n.) *Ibid.* His feast occurs at the 13th of August, and, his Acts will be found written, at the same day, in my forthcoming work, "The Lives of the Irish Saints," preparing for future publication.

† It would not appear from St. Bernard's account, that our saint lived in the same cell with his master, Imar. I think it likely enough, that Malachy occupied the house of his parents, while he resorted daily to the cell of the holy anchorite to receive his instructions. Yet, as he lived in a state of at least comparative seclusion from the world, perhaps he occupied a cell altogether apart from the mansion of his parents, supposing them to have lived in the city of Armagh.

‡ *Cap.* I. & II.

that he might not labour in vain, he betook himself to Jerusalem to visit the Prince of the Apostles, with whom he remained for some days, and then returned to Jerusalem, after the lapse of fourteen years, to confer with Peter, James, and John. These latter he esteemed as pillars of the Church, and with them he held conferences on the Gospel, which he preached among the Gentiles. He received their approval, and the right hand of fellowship was extended by them, towards himself and his travelling companions, Barnabas and Titus. In like manner, whilst the spirit of God was the interior monitor of Malachy, in his youth, he disdained not the advice and direction of his superiors, in the exercises of a spiritual life.

His former acquaintances, however, surprised to see a young person of rank, talents and acquirements separate himself in this manner, from the allurements of the world, opposed many objections to his resolution. Some there were, who distrusted his perseverance, and attributed his choice to a levity of disposition, peculiar to his years. Others blamed his temerity, in attempting things above his strength and age; whilst, some of his friends, desirous of his society, and admiring his engaging acquirements, were anxious to draw him away, from his present retirement.* But these reproaches and efforts were of no avail. On the contrary, the influence of his example was such, as to induce many friends to imitate his conduct. Thus it happened, that he who at first was solitary in the place of his retirement, who was alone in the house of his father, says St. Bernard, became now only one amongst many others; and, from being an only son, he was known as the first born of his brethren. And, as being first in his conversion, so was he allowed in conversation to be superior: he who came first in order, was allowed to surpass all in virtue, by an unanimous acclaim.

In all things he sought the counsel of his superior. He meditated on these words of the Prophet, "It is good for a man, when he hath borne the yoke from his youth;" and again, "He shall sit solitary, and hold his peace: because he hath taken it up upon himself."† The young novice, seated at the feet of his superior, either learned lessons of obedience, or taught those he had already acquired. He seated himself, as one persevering in his purpose; his modesty rendered him silent, except when addressing to the Almighty those words of David, "I am very young and despised, but I forget not thy justifications."‡

The humility of our Saint was such, that he resisted for a long time the solicitations of Imar, and Celsus, then Archbishop of Armagh; both were desirous of his promotion to holy orders, but he yielded in fine, to their earnest persuasions.§ He received the grade of Deacon-

* St. Bernard prefaces the account contained in the text, with these remarks:— "Nunc vero sonuit in civitate quod factum erat, et commota est universa ad inopinatam novitatem. Stupebant autem omnes, et virtutem mirabantur, eoque amplius, quo minus usitatam in gente fera. Videres tunc revelari ex multorum cordibus cogitationes."

† *Lamentations*, iii. 27, 28.

‡ *Psalms*, cxviii. 141.

§ *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap.* 11. §. 4, 5, *pp.* 1470, 1471. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

ship, and about the year 1119 that of the Priesthood, although he was scarcely twenty-five years of age, at the time of its reception, whereas the canons of the church required the attainment of thirty years, before it should be conferred.* But, the office received with reluctance, and only through obedience to the advice of his spiritual superiors, was discharged with fidelity to its various trusts. When promoted to the rank of Deacon, he applied himself to every work of piety.† His care of the poor, particularly in procuring for them a decent burial, and in assisting at their obsequies, showed his humility to be not less abounding than his charity. His sister, looking on the performance of these gloomy offices, as unworthy of the young ecclesiastic, reproached him in these terms:—"What are you doing, O insane man? Let the dead bury their dead." Malachy replied, "Unhappy sister, you pronounce the words of sacred eloquence, but you understand not virtue." All the duties of his sacred ministry were faithfully discharged, both in a public and in a private capacity. He was indefatigable, in the performance of works of charity, no matter what might have been the personal inconveniences to which he subjected himself, in consequence of his ministerial exertions.‡

At this time, various abuses had crept into many of the northern districts of Ireland, whereby irregularity of life and morals amongst the people and objectionable disorders required an exercise of zeal, tempered with discretion, for their reformation.§ Many old practices,

* "In qua ejus utraque ordinatione, si quid præter Canonum formam proces sisse videtur, ut vere videtur (siquidem infra vicesimum quintum annum leviticum ministerium, infra tricesimum adeptus est sacerdotii dignitatem) donandum sane tum zelo ordinatoris, tum meritis ordinati. Ego vero istud nec in sancto redarguendum, nec usurpandum consulo ei qui sanctus non fuerit." In the Councils of Neocæsaræ, of Agatha, A.D. 506, of Arles iv. &c., the sacerdotal dignity was not to be obtained before the attainment of the thirtieth year. The XVII. Canon of the Council of Agatha says: "Presbyterum et episcopum ante triginta annos, id est, antequam ad viri perfecti ætatem perveniant, et diaconos ante viginti quinque nullus metropolitanorum ordinare præsumat," &c. The Bishop, however, often dispensed with this rule, especially in cases where the candidates for holy orders were men of approved piety. From the words of St. Bernard, in his life of St. Malachy, it would appear, that this law was then observed in Ireland.

† St. Bernard tells us that Celsus ordained our saint deacon and priest, and also consecrated him bishop. See *Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. x.* §. 19. *p.* 1482. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

‡ *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. iii.* §. 6. *p.* 1472. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

§ St. Bernard seems to confound these abuses, with the universal prevalence of barbarism, which he supposed to exist in Ireland, as appears from the terms he applies to the Island and her people. "Populo barbaro," "gente fera," "gente non sancta," "rudi populo, et sine lege vivendi," are a few of the epithets made use of by him, in his life of St. Malachy. The unjust prepossessions under which he labors on this subject, were neither the result of personal observation nor experience: although it must be allowed, that a degeneracy of morals and of social refinement had been fast gaining on the civilization of some preceding centuries, especially on those that immediately succeeded the first introduction of Christianity into the Island. In his opening chapter of the Life of St. Malachy, whilst the renowned Abbot of Clairvaux remarks, that the subject of his biography participated no more in the prevailing barbarism of his native country, by disposition, than did the sea fishes of the saline element, in which they had existence; he acknowledges, nevertheless, that the

which savoured of pagan superstition, then and there existed. Many ecclesiastical observances had fallen into disuse, and many canonical regulations were openly violated. The Archbishop Celsus appointed Malachy his vicar, and committed to him the charge of endeavoring to restore the ancient order of things, as established in the Church of Ireland, by its illustrious founder, St. Patrick.* He entered upon the task with zeal and alacrity, distrusting, however, his own talents, but eager to employ them in effecting the desired results. He immediately went forth, like the husbandman, to sow the good seeds of virtue; and, like the giant, rejoicing in his strength, he proceeded to the encounter against the powers of darkness. The tangled thickets of sin and error disappeared from his way, as if devoured by consuming flames. The axe was laid to the root of every tree, that brought not forth good fruit, whilst the culture of productive plants was not neglected, with a view to the acquisition of an abundant gathering, at the time of the spiritual harvest. From day to day, the rough ways were rendered more smooth, and the crooked ways more direct, before the footsteps of this Apostolic man. Eloquent invective, tempered with moving persuasion, withdrew numbers of the people from the error of their ways, and induced them to make a proper use of the Sacraments of the Church. The tribunals of Penance were frequented, the Sacrament of Confirmation was more generally received, and violations of the nuptial contract were either subjects for penitence or reparation.† Whatever practice seemed unbecoming, or gave occasion of scandal, was removed; and ecclesiastical observances, according to

uncultivated inhabitants of Ireland could boast of a numerous progeny of saints, and of a holy community, in the halls of the heavenly Jerusalem. He adds: "Qui producit mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo, ipse fecit hoc." That the national Church of Ireland was not the only one, subject to relaxations of discipline, or that the people of our Island were exceptional to those of several other continental countries at the same period, in point of morals and civilization, will be readily allowed by all profound students of contemporaneous civil, and ecclesiastical history.

* I think it probable, that St. Malachy embraced some religious rule, under his master Imar, to whom he was immediately subject, after his ordination, and that Celsus obtained his services as vicar, although our saint was not a secular priest. The circumstances, mentioned in our saint's life, induce me to arrive at this conclusion. We find that Imar's solicitations induced him to assume holy orders, together with those of Celsus; Imar also is said, in conjunction with the same bishop, to have recalled Malachy from Lismore; and, it was particularly at Imar's instance, Malachy commenced the re-edification of the monastery of Bangor, to the rule of which he was appointed by Imar. It is likely, the rule of life observed by Imar, was that of St. Comgall, which our saint again revived, in the monastery of Bangor.

† "That the Danish invasions and the other civil misfortunes, which, previously to the arrival of the English, disturbed the order of society in Ireland, caused the people to relax in their attention to the duties of religion, and gradually led to the introduction of a less strict morality, cannot be reasonably disputed. But, while this much is conceded, it will also appear from the following observations, that the principal charges preferred against the Irish nation are to be attributed, in a great measure, to the prejudice and ignorance of the writers, by whom they have been advanced.

"In the mode of celebrating the marriage rite, as well as in the number of canonical impediments to matrimony, which the Irish Church admitted, the usage, which she followed, at the time when these accusations were first preferred, differed, in some cases, from that, which then prevailed in the British, and in the other principal

the apostolic constitutions, the decrees of the Holy Fathers, and the rites of the Roman Church were substituted in all the churches of the Archdiocese. The divine office was sung at the canonical hours, according to the manner observed in the continental churches, and these practices, thus introduced by our saint, continued to be observed, at the time St. Bernard wrote his memoirs. Although our saint had practised these observances faithfully in his retirement, they had been long disused in the cathedral of the metropolitan province. As one of those necessary preparations for this due fulfilment of his sacred office, Malachy in his youth had learned the science of choral psalmody. His pastoral vigilance was unceasing, and his administrative powers were constantly exercised in the needed reforms, which tended to reduce the discipline of the Irish, to the more perfect and canonical observances of the Roman Church, the source and centre of unity. He laboured with entire success to extirpate uncouth and indecorous customs and abuses, and to prevent his people from following them in practice. His energetic exertions are compared, in their effects, to the power of the winds, which sweep the dust from the surface of the earth; and to the storms of hail, which scatter green figs from the trees on which they grew. These are only a few of the many great efforts of our saint, which might have been placed on record, during the period of his vicariate, in Armagh: his biographer is careful to remark, that he omitted several interesting particulars, relating to the subject of his memoir, being desirous of avoiding prolixity, throughout the whole course of his narrative.*

CHAPTER III.

State of ecclesiastical discipline in the Church of Armagh, previous to the vicariate of St. Malachy.—Auricular Confession.—Confirmation.—Matrimonial contracts.—The ecclesiastical Offices and Church music.—Reforms introduced, by our Saint.

Although many undoubted irregularities prevailed in the Archdiocese of Armagh, at this particular period, both in the administration of the sacraments, and through the relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline; yet, it would seem, that in several instances, the complaints of St. Bernard, on this score, have been generally misunderstood, if not grossly misrepresented, by many subsequent writers. Two learned canonists and historians,† whose laborious and critical researches have

Churches of the West. But it would be repugnant alike to just reasoning, and to the testimony of history, to deduce hence, that the marriage contract was disregarded by the Irish people. In effect, the falsity of such a conclusion must be obvious, if we refer to the enactments of the first Synod, which was held in Ireland, after the English invasion."—*Carew's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, chap. viii. pp.* 326,327.

* *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. iii.* § 6, 7, *pp.* 1472, 1473. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

† Rev. John Lanigan, D.D. and Rev. P. J. Carew, Professor of Divinity, Maynooth, afterwards the venerated and apostolic Archbishop of Calcutta.

thrown so much light on Irish ecclesiastical history, explain the real state of things, prevailing in the see of Armagh, at the time St. Malachy commenced his ministrations. Amongst other unfounded statements, it has been asserted, by some uninformed or prejudiced writers, that the Irish rejected auricular or particular, that is, private confession and sacerdotal absolution. For this strange assertion, no proof whatever has been adduced.* Not to mention the host of antient authorities, and the unanimous concurrence of Catholic writers, both native and foreign, who have borne testimony to the universal prevalence of this salutary custom, in the antient Church of Ireland;†

* "They rejected auricular Confession," says Toland, "as well as authoritative Absolution; and confessed to God alone, as believing God alone could forgive sins:" and he then appends the passages of St. Bernard, which relate only to the interrupted use of this salutary practice in a particular part of Ireland. — *See Toland's Nasarenus, Letter* 11, *sect.* ii. § vi. *p.* 24. *London edition, 8vo.,* 1718. Yet, Toland himself quotes a passage from an Irish writer *(ibid, sect.* 1.*)* from which it would appear, that the practice of confession and absolution was by no means uncommon. This versatile, but frequently inconsistent writer appears to have entertained a particular opinion of his own, relative to the power of absolving. Toland seems to have been the son of Catholic parents, and he dates his conversion, —to what particular form of belief cannot be safely determined,—from the sixteenth year of his age, when he renounced the religion of his ancestors. See his Life, prefixed to his *Critical History of the Celtic Religion, and Learning: containing an Account of the Druids; &c.,* published at Edinburgh, in the year 1815. This edition was dedicated by the printer, to the Rev. Paul O'Brien, Professor of the Irish Language, in the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth.

† Thus, in the Life of St. Mochoemoc, who lived in the seventh century, and whose Acts have been published by Colgan, it is related, that the saint enjoined the practice of confession, on a chieftain named Suibne, for a fault he had committed, although the latter was truly penitent. Having expressed himself to this purpose, and declared his willingness to perform any penance which might be imposed on him, the saint afterwards said, "Confitere peccata tua," &c. *Vita S. Mochoemoci, cap., XIX. XIII Martii. Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, p.* 592. Again, St. Maidoc, who died in the year 624, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, is said in his Life, to have had a desire to learn from St. David of Wales, the person he ought to adopt as his *pater confessarius,* or *father confessor,* in Ireland. *Vita S. Maidoci, cap. XX. XXXI. Januarii. Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, p.* 210. And it is then said, that an angel replied to some remarks he made, in these terms: "Non est tibi necesse habere patrem alium confessarium præter Deum. Ipse enim scit purissimam confessionem tuam: sed tamen si vis habere testem conscientiæ tuæ, habeto Moluam filium Coche patrem confessarium tuum ad Deum." The meaning of this passage evidently refers to the extraordinary sanctity of St. Maidoc, and to his preserving himself free from mortal sin, whilst it expresses a prevailing custom, and sanctions its adoption, in the recommendation given to St. Maidoc, to select as his *pater confessarius,* the holy St. Molua. St. Adamnan of Coldingham, who died towards the close of the seventh century, is said to have confessed his sins to an Irish priest. "Accedens ergo ad sacerdotem a quo sibi sperabat iter salutis posse demonstrari, confessus est reatum suum, petiitque ut consilium sibi daret quo posset fugere a ventura Dei ira." *Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, Lib. IV. cap.* 25. The same venerable writer, in his Life of St. Cuthbert, an Irish saint, mentions the great concourse of people that flocked to Lindisfarne, from all parts of Britain, "qui vel sua quæ commisissent errata, vel dæmonum quæ paterentur tentamenta profitentes;" and who hoped to receive consolation from this holy man, who died in the year 687. *Bede's Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. XXII. See Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hibernicæ. XXXI Januarii, p.* 224, and *XX. Martii, p.* 667. The Acts of these three latter saints will be found at length, in the forthcoming, "Lives of the Irish Saints." In his Penitential, St. Columbanus enjoins confession to a priest, in certain cases; and

the acknowledgments of many eminent and learned Protestant authors must have their due weight and influence, on the minds of all candid and rational enquirers, into the facts of our early history. Ussher has shown, beyond all controversy, that the antient Irish were accustomed to make a confession of their faults, both publicly and privately; and, that they submitted to the absolution, administered by the bishop or priest.* He even admits the power of the keys to be inherent in the sacerdotal order; although, he shamefully misrepresents certain Catholic tenets, relating to absolution.† It must, therefore, be allowed,

also in the Penitential of St. Cummian, the confession of secret sins and bad thoughts is prescribed, with directions regarding the penances to be performed. Whilst the former of these saints died, in the year 615, the latter is supposed, by Dr. Lanigan, to have departed this life, in the year 662. Descending the stream of time, to a period much nearer the era of St. Malachy O'Morgair, St. Gormghal, abbot of Ard-oilean, is called the "chief anmchara," or *principal spiritual father* of Ireland, having died in the year of Christ 1017, [rectè 1018] according to Mr. O'Donovan's edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. II. pp. 790, 791. And, according to the same authority, "Dubhthach Albanach, chief anmchara of Ireland and Alba, died at Ard-Macha," in 1065. *Ibid, pp.* 886, 887. In an extract from a poem, annexed to this account of his demise, he is thus designated,

"Dubhthach, a strict, austere man,
"Who made the roomy, cheap abode,
"The friend of souls, thou seest, has obtained heaven,
"[In exchange] for his fair, thin-boarded domicile."

Colgan calls this latter saint "Archisynedrus, seu præcipuus Confessarius Hiberniæ et Albaniæ." *Trias Thaumaturga, p.* 298. Besides the foregoing instances, several priests are noticed, in the Irish annals, as being distinguished penitentiaries or confessors, to whom many penitents resorted for spiritual direction. But, it would be needless to enumerate additional proofs of the prevalence of auricular confession amongst the antient Irish, its practice being demonstrated by the whole tenor of our primitive ecclesiastical history. From the antient Irish Canons, it also appears, that confession, sacerdotal absolution and penances were practised in Ireland, from a very early period.

* Ussher proclaims his own opinions on this subject, in the following terms: "But for the right use of the keys, we fully accord with Claudius: that the office of remitting and retaining sins which was given to the Apostles, "is now in the Bishops and Priests committed to every Church. Namely, that having taken knowledge of the causes of such as have sinned, as many as they shall behold humble and truly penitent, those they may now with compassion absolve from the fear of everlasting death; but such as they shall discover to persist in the sins which they have committed, those they may declare to be bound over unto never-ending punishment." And in thus absolving such as are truly penitent, we willingly yield, that the pastors of God's church remit sins after their manner, that is to say, ministerially and improperly: so that the privilege of forgiving sins properly and absolutely, is still reserved to God alone." *Discourse on the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British, chap. V., p.* 48. *Dublin edition, 8vo.* 1815.

† See *Ussher's Discourse on the Religion of the Antient Irish, chap. V.* After quoting a passage from Alcuin's letter to the Goths, (not to the Scots, as Ussher seems to suppose,) we read: "They had no reason indeed to believe (as Alcuinus did) that they ought to confess unto a Priest all the sins they could remember: but upon special occasions, they did (no doubt) both publicly and privately make confession of their faults; as well that they might receive counsel and direction for their recovery, as that they might be made partakers of the benefit of the keys, for the quieting of their troubled consciences. Whatever the Gottish did (by whom we are to understand the inhabitants of Languedoc in France, where Alcuinus lived) sure we are, that this was the practice of the antient Scottish and Irish." After citing the instance of "one Fiachna, or Fechnaus," who made a public confession of his sins, "at St. Colme's feet," and an absolution being pronounced

that the practice of sacramental confession had been observed in Ireland, long before the time of St. Malachy, as well as in the other Catholic countries on the Continent, and in the neighbouring island of Britain. Those who had addicted themselves to a life of regularity and grace, and who desired the avoidance of temptations to the contrary, or those who were truly penitent for the mortal sins they had committed, were accustomed in Ireland, as elsewhere, to frequent the tribunal of penance. But, as no general law of the Church had yet prescribed the precept of annual confession,* and as the primitive

thereupon ; he refers to the case of Adamnanus' absolution, related in a preceding note. He then continues : "Now the counsel commonly given to the penitent after confession was, that he should wipe away his sins 'by meet fruits of repentance :' which course Bede observes was usually prescribed by our Cuthbert. For penances were then exacted, as testimonies of the sincerity of that inward repentance which was necessarily required for obtaining remission of the sin : and so had reference to the taking away of the guilt, and not of the temporal punishment, remaining after the forgiveness of the guilt ; which is the new-found use of the penances, invented by our latter Romanists. One old penitential canon we find laid down in a Synod held in this country about the year of our Lord 450, by Patrick, St. Auxilius and Isserninus, which is as follows : 'a Christian who has committed murder or fornication, or gone to a soothsayer after the manner of the Gentiles, for every such crime shall do a year of penance : when his year of penance is accomplished he shall come with witnesses, and afterwards he shall be absolved by the Priest.' These Bishops appointed (we see) according to the discipline generally used in those times, that the penance should first be performed ; and when long and good proof had been given by that means of the truth of the party's repentance, they wished the Priest to impart to him the benefit of absolution. Whereas by the new device of sacramental penance, the matter is now far more easily transacted ; by virtue of the keys the sinner is instantly of *attrite* made *contrite*, and thereupon as soon as he has made his confession, he presently receives his absolution : after this some trivial penance is imposed, which upon better consideration may be converted into *pence ;* and so a quick end is made of many a foul business." See pp. 45 to 48. Thus, will it be seen, that Ussher refutes Toland's false position, whilst adding misrepresentations of his own, and misleading his readers, on this important question of Catholic dogma. In Alcuin's letter to the Goths, alluded to by Ussher, we read, "Dicitur vero neminem ex laicis suum velle confessionem sacerdotibus dare, quos a Deo Christo cum sanctis Apostolis ligandi solvendique protestatem accepisse credimus." *Opera Alcuini, Epist. LXXI. Duchesne's edition.* Besides, the fact of this letter being written, not to the Scots or Irish, but to the Goths, the obvious meaning of "confessionem," in the passage, refers to certain dues, called "confessio," and not to sacramental confession. These dues or offerings made by the faithful, on occasions when they presented themselves to the priests, at the tribunal of penance, were intended for the support of the ministers of the Church. See, *Du Cange's Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub voce Confessio, No.* 4. To derive a profit by the forgiveness of sins, as seems to be intimated by Ussher, would be both sacrilegious and simonaical ; and the practice is not only condemned by the Catholic Church, but an attempt of the kind would be visited by the most severe ecclesiastical censures.

* The XXI. Canon of the IV. General Council of Lateran, held under Pope Innocent III., in the year 1215, contains the first decree, on this subject, and in the following terms :—"Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter saltem semel in anno proprio Sacerdoti, et injunctam sibi pœnitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha Eucharistiæ sacramentum : nisi forte de concilio proprii Sacerdotis ob aliquam rationabilem causam ad tempus ab ejus perceptione duxerit abstinendum : alioquin et vivens ab ingressu Ecclesiæ arceatur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura," &c. In the same canon, it is afterwards declared, that this law should frequently receive publicity in the various churches, so that the faithful should not be excused from its fulfilment, on the plea of igno-

fervour of penitents had become in a great measure relaxed, the practice of confession was much neglected, in the Archdiocese of Armagh, until St. Malachy, by his labours and exhortations, succeeded in reviving its more frequent use. The well known irregularities prevailing in that see, for some time previous, and practised, even amongst the higher orders of the clergy, had no doubt exercised their baneful influence, on the minds of the faithful at large, by inducing them to neglect the discharge of this religious duty.*

The same causes, coupled with the unlawful intrusion of married men into the Archiepiscopal see, in the capacity of administrators, caused the sacrament of Confirmation to be conferred throughout the diocese, only on rare occasions. We may well assume, that the prevalence of a worldly spirit, amongst men of such a character, induced sloth and remissness in the performance of all those duties, inseparably connected with the episcopal station. Being concerned only for the temporal emoluments accruing to them, in consequence of their scandalous usurpation of this exalted ecclesiastical dignity, the spiritual interests of the faithful were completely disregarded, by these ravening wolves, within the sanctuary of the fold of Christ.* It required no ordinary exertions, on the part of the good Archbishop Celsus, and of his vicar, St. Malachy, to repair these ravages, and to perfect in faith and morals the neglected flock, whose spiritual interests had suffered greatly, under their former pastors.

With regard to the Sacrament of Matrimony, and the obligations contracted by the Irish of this period, in reference thereto, a great amount of misconception appears to prevail, which can easily find solution, by an attentive and appreciative consideration of the testimony of St. Bernard and of cotemporary writers. St. Bernard declares, that his friend St. Malachy re-modelled the contract of marriage, but does not even insinuate, that matrimony was totally disregarded by the people, amongst whom he ministered.‡ It is

rance. In a decree of Pope Fabian, who suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Decius, in the year 250, the faithful are required to approach communion three times each year, *viz.* at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, at Easter, and at Pentecost. *C. Etsi non frequentius de consecr. dist.* 2. And, in the XVIII canon of the Synod of Agatha, held in 506, it is decreed : "Seculares qui Natale Domini, Pascha, et Pentecosten non communicaverint Catholici non credantur, nec inter Catholicos habeantur." See *Cabassutius' Notitia Ecclesiastica Historiarum, Conciliorum et Canonum, &c. pp.* 233, 433. The decrees last cited, although not referring specially to the necessity of Confession, at these stated times, yet imply the frequent compliance with a duty, usually preceding the reception of the Holy Eucharist.

* On this subject the reader is referred to the admirable remarks of Dr. Carew, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, chap. VIII. pp.* 305 to 311. *Dublin Ed. 8vo.* 1835.

† "Of the discipline of the Irish Church respecting Confirmation, the letter of St. Patrick to Coroticus supplies sufficient evidence. In this letter, the Saint represents the persons, in whose favour he addressed himself to Coroticus, as having been hurried into captivity, just after they had been regenerated in the waters of baptism, and while their foreheads yet shone with the sacred Chrism, with which they had been anointed in Confirmation." *Rev. P. J. Carew's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, chap. VIII. p.* 292.

‡ The words of St. Bernard are : "Deinde usum saluberrimum Confessionis, sacramentum Confirmationis, contractum conjugiorum, quæ omnia aut ignorabant,

certain, that lawful marriages were observed in the Archdiocese of Armagh, as elsewhere, throughout Ireland;* but, St. Malachy introduced certain regulations, relative to the matrimonial contract. Dr. Lanigan is of opinion, that St. Malachy probably endeavoured to introduce certain matrimonial impediments, not hitherto generally observed in Ireland, whilst he also felt desirous of establishing the Roman customs or discipline. One of these regulations is supposed to have been that particular rule, whereby marriage was prohibited within the seventh degree of relationship, according to the more general usage of these times. But, it is thought to be even more probable, that St. Malachy undertook to substitute the system of *sponsalia de praesenti*, identical with the marriage contract as now practised, for the *sponsalia de futuro*. The latter, it would appear, was the more usual manner of contracting marriage, in our Island; and, which, being accompanied with certain conditions, rendered marriage as valid and binding, in those days, as the other form did.† The distinction, thus drawn by Dr. Lanigan, will be intelligible to the Catholic theologian; but, without a more particular explanation, it must be liable to misconception, on the part of those who have not particularly devoted their attention to the subject.

In the language of the Church, *sponsalia*, rendered into English, by the word *espousals*, are of the two different kinds already noticed. The term, in the Latin language, was derived from a custom prevalent amongst the antient Romans of designating as *sponsor*, the person who was ward or guardian of a female, and who engaged to give her as wife, to an intended companion. Hence, the latter, to whom the betrothal had been made, or who promised to bring the female into his house, was named the *sponsus;* his intended wife being called *sponsa*. The act of espousal is known by the terms *desponsatio*, or

aut negligebant, Malachias de novo instituit." Fleury, after relating the elevation of St. Malachy to the vicariate, says, that he began "établir le chant des heures canoniales et les coutumes de l'église Romaine, l'usage de la confession, le sacrament de la confirmation, la regle dans les marriages." *Histoire Ecclesiastique, Liv. LXIII.* § 58, *p.* 503. *Tome XIV.* The latter clause of the sentence, signifying that our Saint established *regularity in marriages*, admirably expresses the meaning of St. Bernard.

* "Lanfranc, concerning whose letters to King Turlogh and Gothric of Dublin we have seen above, *(chap. XXIV.* §. 12) makes mention, in both of them, of the lawfully wedded wives of the Irish, *legitime sibi copulatam uxorem, legitime sibi copulatas.* In like manner Anselm in his letters to King Murtogh (see *chap.* XXV. § 8.) speaks of Irish wives and marriages just as he would of those of any other country; and his or Lanfranc's complaint that some men used to quit their wives and take others, so far from shewing that lawful marriages were omitted in any part of Ireland, proves quite the contrary. How could St. Bernard have supposed, that they were unknown at Armagh, while he speaks so highly of St. Malachy's mother? Making mention of the eight laymen, who held the see of Armagh, he says that they were married men, *viri uxorati.* How could that have been, if marriages were not observed at Armagh?" *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI.* §. *VI. n.* 49, *pp.* 68, 69.

† *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI.* §. *VI. pp.* 63, 64. For some admirable observations on this subject of our early Irish ecclesiastical discipline, regarding the sacrament of Matrimony, the reader is referred to the learned and able work of Dr. Carew, entitled, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, chap. VIII. pp.* 321 to 331.

sponsalia. According to the Canon Law, the *sponsalia de futuro* consist of a mutual promise of a future marriage; whilst the *sponsalia de præsenti* do not differ from a matrimonial contract ratified, even although not yet consummated, between the parties. The former was a contract or agreement, whereby the parties solemnly pledged themselves to enter upon the latter contract, within a certain specified time. As it did not require immediate cohabitation, it is best expressed by the English term *betrothing*. In the Roman law, it was known under the general name of *sponsalia*.* It would seem, that this contract of *espousal* had been accompanied with donations, certain forms and ceremonies, and that it had been made in the presence of witnesses, with great solemnity.† Both in the Civil and Canon Law, those who had promised, but who had not contracted marriage, were generally designated *sponsores;* whilst the term *sponsalia* usually referred to such species of contract. Neither were these *espousals* considered, as simple promises, amongst the contracting parties; but as obligations, the violation of which was to be visited, by the most severe penalties of the state, and by the censures of the Church, unless a just reason appeared for their non-observance. Their unjust violation appears to have introduced those civil actions into the jurisprudence of most civilized states, whereby the offending or convicted party becomes subject to certain penalties, for the rescinding of a solemn engagement. Cognizance of these cases, also, come within the jurisdiction of the canon law, which can inflict ecclesiastical censures on the person who would seek to withdraw from such contract, without assigning a just cause. That the sacerdotal benediction was formerly bestowed on espousals, as well as on what are strictly denominated marriages, appears from a letter to Himerius, by Pope Siricius. The latter maintains, that it would be a sacrilegious act for a man to take as wife, the affianced spouse of another, because it would be a violation of the benediction, bestowed by the priest, on her, who was afterwards to be married. There are likewise various decrees of Councils, which prevent the parties from violating this contract.‡ *Sponsalia de præsenti* is the same as the matrimonial contract now used, and which renders a marriage valid, *ipso facto*, even before its consummation. This solemn engagement, moreover, is called the *contract of matrimony*, and where the Roman laws remained in vigour, it was usually celebrated some time after that of *espousals*, and with a degree of solemnity, unknown to nations, not subject to those laws.§

In the middle ages, it would seem, that all these ceremonies or

* In the Codes, a Title is to be found, *De sponsalibus et Donationibus ante Nuptias*, quite distinct from that of *De Nuptiis*, which latter had allusion to marriage strictly so called.

† In the classic authors, we find allusions to these customs, in numerous instances. Thus, Cicero observes of a marriage gift, "Sponsalia Crassipedi dedi." *Ad* 2 *Frater*. 2. 3., and, in the *Codex Justinianus*, mention is made of "Sponsalitia arrha." Suetonius alludes to the day on which this contract was entered upon, which he designates as the "Sponsaliorum dies."

‡ The Council of Trullo declares it is adultery for a man to marry a woman, who had been previously betrothed to another, during the life time of him, who had espoused her.

§ See *Bingham's Origines Ecclesiasticæ*. *Book* XXII. *chap.* 3. 4.

engagements were not considered necessary; at least, in particular countries. The two contracts were, however, distinguished. That either of them, if accompanied with the required circumstances, would be sufficient for the validity of marriage, was pretty generally assumed. They were distinguished, as two particular contracts, in the canon law, and are explained in the Book of Decretals. It was also ruled, that one of them might be entered into, without contracting the other. To guard against equivocation, and to make a necessary distinction, in the solution of cases and questions, the *contract of marriage*, strictly so called, began to find its expression, in the terms *sponsalia de præsenti;* and, for the reason, that it did not require any future condition to render the marriage valid, as also, because the contract was expressed in the words of the present tense, such, for instance, as the form of expression, *I take you for my wife, &c.* In the canon law* many decrees occur, that relate to cases in which there might be detected a discordance between the two contracts.

Dr. Lanigan is of opinion, that the mystery, attending the Irish customs relating to marriage, in the time of St. Malachy, can be readily solved, by attending to the foregoing observations. He believes, that marriages were usually contracted only by *sponsalia de futuro*, which was a very old mode, adopted from the practice of the antient Jews, whose marriages were often valid for a considerable time, before the parties cohabited. In his day, Giraldus Cambrensis accuses the Irish people of not contracting matrimony, and of being addicted to incest;† and there is reason to suspect, that such disorders were of too frequent occurrence amongst our ancestors, during the life time of St. Malachy. That they were generally prevalent may with greater propriety be questioned. But, it is probable, that in his complaints of the Irish not contracting marriage, Cambrensis alludes to their not practising the form of *sponsalia de præsenti*, or matrimony strictly so called, according to the usual manner of the English and of other nations, in his time. When St. Bernard commends St. Malachy for instituting anew the *contract of marriage*, with other useful reformations; it is likely he alludes to the same neglect of the practice of *sponsalia de præsenti*, amongst our ancestors. But, it would seem, that the Irish were more in the habit of contracting marriages, according

* *Decretales. Lib. IV. Tit. De Sponsalibus et Matrimoniis.*

† He says, "Nondum decimas, vel primitias solvere; nondum matrimonia contrahere, non incestus vitare, non Ecclesiam Dei cum debita reverentia frequentare." *Topographia Hiberniæ, Dist. III. cap.* 19. Of Giraldus, Dr. Lanigan remarks: "He was unacquainted with the difference between the marriage, called *sponsalia de præsenti*, and that styled *sponsalia de futuro*. The Irish were, in general, strongly attached to the latter form, which in reality constituted, when united with certain conditions, as valid a marriage as the former. Giraldus, not understanding the nature of it, and finding that the Irish did not marry according to the mode practised in England and Wales, concluded that they did not contract matrimony. Having already treated largely of this subject, I need not add more at present. He adds "that they do not shun incest." For this charge or argument he had no foundation, except that the Irish had not universally received the system of the seven degrees of consanguinity or affinity, within which the canonists of those times prohibited marriage. As some of them did not scruple to marry within said degrees, hence Giraldus accused them of committing incest." *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXX. §. XI. p.* 283.

to the form of *sponsalia de futuro*, than in the regular way; not only in the time of St. Bernard and of St. Malachy, but even at a comparatively recent period.* And this system prevailed to a greater or lesser extent, in some other countries, until it was prohibited by the Decrees of the Council of Trent, and by the Laws of Christian States.† However, the practice disapproved of by St. Bernard rendered the marriage valid, not only in Ireland, but in other countries. A graver charge, advanced by Giraldus against the Irish, is that of their being addicted to the crime of incest. This is a matter which requires some explanation. It would seem, that some persons in Ireland favoured a particular abuse, which allowed a man to marry the widow of his deceased brother. But, in one of the canons of the Synod of St. Patrick, it is condemned. From the wording of this canon,‡ however, it would appear, that there was some question on this subject, in Ireland.§ Even

* In *Camden's Hibernia, Appendix*, it is stated by Good, an English priest, who kept a school at Limerick, about the year 1566, that the Irish used to celebrate marriage by *sponsalia de futuro*, and not by *sponsalia de præsenti*.

† "That the usage of entering into what may be termed conditional matrimony prevailed for a long time in Ireland, cannot be controverted, and the adhesion of the Irish people to it, after it began to be disused by other nations, occasioned, it is likely, some of the English and French writers, to charge that people with the disregard of the marriage contract." *Carew's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, chap. VIII. p.* 331.

‡ "Audi decreta Synodi super istis. Frater thorum defuncti fratris non ascendat, Domino dicente: *Erunt duo in carne una.* Ergo uxor fratris soror tua est." *Synodus S. Patricii. Can.* 25.

§ A certain Clemens *Scotus*, and hence most probably an Irishman, broached such a doctrine in Germany, about the middle of the eighth century. On this account, he was condemned in a Synod, held at Rome, under Pope Zachary, as being an introducer of Judaism. The nature of the errors ascribed to Clemens will be best understood, from the following extract of a letter, addressed by St. Boniface of Mentz, to Pope Zachary, in the year 745. "Alter autem hæreticus, qui dicitur *Clemens*, contra catholicam contendit Ecclesiam: Canones Ecclesiarum *Christi* abnegat, & refutat tractatus; & intellectus Sanctorum Patrum, *Hieronymi, Augustini, Gregorij* recusat. Synodalia jura spernens, proprio sensu affirmat, se post duos filios sibi in adulterio natos [sub nomine Episcopi] esse posse legis Christianæ Episcopum. Judaismum inducens, judicat justum esse Christiano, ut, si voluerit, viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. Ipse etiam contra fidem sanctorum Patrum contendit, dicens; quod *Christus* filius Dei descendens ad inferos, omnes quos inferni carcer detinuit, inde liberasset, credulos & incredulos, laudatores Dei simul & cultores idolorum: & multa alia horribilia de *Prædestinatione Dei* contraria fidei Catholicæ affirmat. Quapropter de hoc quoque hæretico precor, ut per literas vestras mandare curetis Duci *Carolomanno*, ut mittatur in custodiam, ut semina Satanæ latius non seminet, ne forsitan una ovis morbida totum gregem polluat." *Ussher's Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge. Epist. XV. pp.* 46, 47. But, that the opinion referred to was reprobated by the Irish church and by its missionaries, prior to this time, is proved from the circumstance of St. Kilian, the Apostle of Franconia, having suffered martyrdom, because he would not suffer Gozbert his convert, to retain as his lawful wife, Geilane, she having been the widow of his own brother. There are Irish canons extant, whereby marriage is forbidden, between brothers and sisters-in law. Thus, in a canon, which is to be found amongst the *Judicia Compendia*, published by Martene, we find it expressed: "Vir si nupserit duabus sororibus, vel mulier duobus fratribus, abjiciantur a communione usque ad mortem; verum tamen in exitu vitæ propter misericordiam, si incolumes permiscerent hujus conjunctionis vincula dissolvere, pœnitentiam sequantur. Quod si defecerint, in talibus nuptiis difficilis est pœnitentia permanentibus." *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum. Tom.* 4.

after the death of Malachy, in some parts of this Island, an abuse of such kind seems to have prevailed. This, at least, is the assertion of an eminent Irish church historian, in a certain part of his invaluable work.* He refers, most probably, to a statement of Giraldus Cambrensis, who says, that in Ireland men married the widows of their deceased brothers.† But, even according to the words of Giraldus, such a practice does not appear to have been general;‡ and, it was certainly opposed to the canons and antient discipline of the Church of Ireland.

There are documents existing, which seem to explain the nature of those abuses committed in Ireland, against the degrees of affinity and consanguinity, as contained in the Canon Law, both before and contemporaneously with the time of Malachy. In the Epistle, addressed by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Terdelvach, King of Ireland, about the year 1074; after congratulating the monarch, on the many favourable reports received of him, through Patrick, bishop of Dublin,§ he declares that amongst many things which pleased him, there were practices prevailing in Ireland, with which he was dis-

* For many valuable observations on the subject of Irish marriages, the reader is referred to *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, *Vol.* III. *Chap.* XXIV. § XII. and *nn.* 95, 96, 97. *pp.* 476 *to* 479, § XIII. *p.* 482. *Vol.* IV. *Chap.* XXV. § VIII. *n.* 48, *pp.* 19, 20, 22. *Chap.* XXVI. § VI. *nn.* 48, 49, 50, 51, 52. *pp.* 63, 64, and 68 *to* 72. § X. *n.* 66. *pp.* 86 *to* 88. *Chap.* XXIX. § II. *n.* 11. *pp.* 205, 206. § IV. *nn.* 15, 16, 17. *pp.* 211 *to* 213, and *n.* 19. *p.* 215. *Chap.* XXX. § XI. *nn.* 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94. *pp.* 283, 284. *Chap.* XXXII. § VIII. *nn.* 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58. *pp.* 364 *to* 367. § XI. *nn.* 85, 86, 87. *pp.* 377, 381. § XIII. *nn.* 112, 113, 114, 118. *pp.* 386 *to* 391.

† Charges of an equally grave and serious kind are advanced by anEnglish writer, named Brompton, which are thus alluded to by Dr. Lanigan, when treating of the Synod of Cashel, held in the year 1172. "Neither Lanfranc nor Anselm of Canterbury, who in their letters to Irish kings complain of the practice of the Irish marrying within the degrees prohibited by the then Canon law, and of that of exchanging wives; nor St. Bernard, even when (*Vit. S. Mal. cap.* 6.) railing against the abuses of the diocese of Connor, and where he touches on those relative to the matrimonial contract; nor Giraldus Cambrensis, although (*Topogr. Hib. Dist.* 3. *c.* 19.) he charges the Irish with not observing the more usual matrimonial contract, that is the one called *de præsenti*, and with their not attending to the far extended prohibited degrees, as marked by the canonists of those days, ever accuse the Irish of the crime of polygamy, nor do they even hint at it. The first English writer, who as far as I can discover, advanced this vile falsehood, is John Brompton, abbot of Iornal, or rather Iorval, a Cistercian monastery in the diocese formerly of York and afterwards of Chester. He wrote his Chronicle, which may be seen amongst Troysden's X *Scriptores* in the 14th century, during the reign of Edward III. In giving an account (*ib. col.* 1071.) of the Synod of Cashel, he does not follow the order of the decree nor the words, as detailed by Giraldus, but partly follows Hoveden. At the decree on marriage he introduces the calumny we are now treating of, and of which Hoveden makes no mention. His words are; 'plerique enim illorum (Hibernorum) quot uxores volebant tot habebant, et etiam cognatas suas et *germanas* habere solebant uxores.' Here he seems to go as far as to say, that the Irish used to marry even their sisters. Yet perhaps the blockhead meant in his bad Latin by *germanas* not sisters, but cousin germans." *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, *Vol.* IV. *Chap.* XXIX. § IV. *n.* 15. *pp.* 212, 213.

‡ See *Topographia Hiberniæ*, *Dist. III. cap.* 19.

§ For an interesting account of this Prelate, who, according to Mr. D'Alton, sat from 1074 to 1084, see the *Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin*, *pp.* 27 to 35, by that gentleman, in which work a translation of the letter in question will be found.

pleased. Amongst the latter, he enumerates especially the following customs, which he reprobates. 1st. He says, that in Tordelvac's kingdom, each man, at his pleasure, might be found relinquishing his lawful wife, without any canonical cause; and rashly joining himself by a marital or adulterous law, to a woman, nearly related to himself, or to his deserted wife, or to another female, deserted in like manner by her husband, and through a similar depraved motive. 2ndly. That bishops were consecrated by one bishop. 3rdly. That infants were baptised, without consecrated chrism. 4thly. That Holy Orders were conferred for money, by Bishops. Lanfranc then points out to the monarch, that no person could be so ignorant, as not to know, these things were contrary to the Evangelical and Apostolic authority, opposed to precedent institutions of the orthodox Fathers, and prohibited by the sacred Canons. He urges Terdelvac to exercise his influence, that these abominations, and any that would be found similar to them, might be repressed by a strict prohibition, and punished with severity, if not corrected. He desires the king to convoke the bishops and religious men to an assembly or conference, where they would meet him and his nobles, that thus he might be enabled to eradicate from his kingdom, these, and all other uncanonical customs. By complying with such recommendations, the Archbishop predicts for him, the enjoyment of a lasting peace in this world, and eternal life in the world to come.*

The see of Dublin having been vacated, by the death of Bishop Donat, in 1074,† a letter was addressed by the clergy and people of that city, to the same Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, stating their choice of a successor to have been a Priest, named Patrick, whom they earnestly recommend for consecration, on account of his varied merits and acquirements. In reply to this letter, Lanfranc addressed another to Gothric, whom he styles King of Dublin.‡ In this letter, the Archbishop declares, that he had honorably and with due respect received Patrick, who had been sent for consecration, and who had been invested with the episcopal dignity, according to the rules of the canons, and with the requisite ceremonies. He had been sent back to his proper see, with letters of approval. The Archbishop observes, that although Patrick had related many commendable things, regarding Gothric's glory; yet, there were certain matters, especially deserv-

* This letter is published in *Ussher's Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge Epist.* xxvii. *pp.* 71, 72.

† In Harris' Ware, he is said to have died on the 6th of May, in that year, and to have been buried in his own Cathedral, near the high altar, on the right hand side. See *Vol. I. Bishops of Dublin, p.* 306. Also, *D'Alton's Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin, p.* 27. At the same year, the Four Masters record the death of this prelate, whom they style "Dunan, Archbishop of Ath-cliath." *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. II. pp.* 906, 907. He is incorrectly styled Archbishop of Dublin, his successor Gregory being the first prelate presiding over that see, who enjoyed the title.

‡ This Gothric or Godred, who was king of the Isle of Man, is said, in 1068, to have subdued "*Dublinium* et magnam partem de *Laynestir*." *Chronicon Mannice. Johnstone's Antiquitates Celto-Normanicæ, p.* 8. Mr. D'Alton says, that Lanfranc bestows on Gothred the title of "king of Ireland." *Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin, p.* 29. This statement, however, is incorrect, the Epistle as found in Ussher's Sylloge is addressed, "ad *Gothricum* regem *Dublinicæ*."

ing the king's attention, and requiring correction. He says, it had been reported, that men lived within his dominions, who were accustomed to take wives too nearly related to their own family, or to the relatives of their deceased wives; others it had been said, were found, who leave at pleasure, such as are lawfully joined to them in marriage; whilst some there were, according to report, who gave their wives to other men, and received wives in return, by an abominable commerce. Praying the king to correct these, or any other enormities, which may be found to prevail, the Archbishop entreats him to afford a good example to his subjects, that he may reign happily here and hereafter. He advises the king to respect the admonitions of the newly consecrated prelate, whom he should obey as a spiritual father. He concludes with prayers to the Omnipotent Lord, to fortify Gothric by the armour of virtue, against the enemies of his soul and body, that after a long life in this world, he may be happily brought to that which hath no end.*

With regard to the practice of men exchanging wives in Ireland, there is reason to believe that these abuses were confined chiefly to the Danes, whose Scandinavian ancestors and brethren were known to have been very depraved, in this respect. And Dr. Lanigan supposes, that although Lanfranc speaks of Terdelvac's kingdom, yet it may be fairly supposed, as regards these abominations alluded to, that he referred to the part of it, which was held by his vassal Gothric. As to the other barbarous practice of deserting wives, it prevailed not only amongst the Irish, but amongst the Anglo-Saxons and Scots of Britain†. It is probable, that the abominable custom of selling wives, not unknown in England, at the present day, is only a remnant of these antient practices. And, although upon high authority, we are told that the Pagan Saxons, even before their conversion to Christianity, both observed, and enforced, by severe penalties,‡ conjugal fidelity; yet, they indulged themselves in a greater latitude of choice, than was conceded to the more polished nations, whose people had been restrained from marrying within certain degrees of kindred, by civil and canonical law. Amongst

* Both of these letters are to be found in *Ussher's Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge. Epist. XXV. XXVI. pp.* 68 to 70. They are assigned to the year 1074, and were taken by Ussher from a MS. in the Cottonian Library, as was also the preceding epistle, addressed to king Terdelvac. John Picard, in his notes to Anselm, *Lib. III. Epist.* 147, improperly constitutes Terdelvac the successor to Gothric. They were both cotemporaries; Gothric being only the ruler of the City of Dublin, and a part of Leinster, whilst Terdelvac, who is called Toiridealbach O'Briain in the native annals, was supreme ruler of Ireland. See, *Ibid. notes, pp.* 136, 137.

† See *Ussher's Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, notæ. p.* 137, and *Camden's Hibernia. p.* 765.

‡ "The jealousy of the husband guarded with severity the honor of his bed; and the offending wife was frequently compelled to be herself the executioner of his vengeance. With her own hands she fastened the halter to her neck; her strangled body was thrown into the flames; and over her ashes was suspended the partner of her guilt. On other occasions he delivered her to the women of the neighbourhood, who were eager to avenge on their unfortunate victim, the honor of the female character. They stripped her to the girdle, and scourged her from village to village, till she sunk under the severity of the punishment." *Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Chap. VIII.* § *II. p.* 132. See, also, the Epistle of St. Boniface to Ethelbald. *Wilkins' Concilia, Tom. I. p.* 88.

the Saxons, the son frequently cohabited with the widow of his deceased father; and the widow of the dead felt not ashamed to unite herself to the surviving brother. These practices were found to interpose such an obstacle to the progress of the Gospel, that Gregory the Great relaxed the rigour of the canons, in consideration of the ignorance prevailing amongst the Saxons. By this great Pontiff, the prohibition of marriages was restricted to the first and second generations, and he advised the missionaries to separate converts contracted within those degrees, and exhort them to marry again, according to the ecclesiastical canons, which prohibited matrimony within the seventh degree, at the time. The concession of the Pope was justified by himself, and principally on the ground, that every reasonable concession should be made, owing to the former habits of the neophytes; it being his intention to restore the antient discipline, when the necessity for its suspension had disappeared. Thus, amongst the Saxons, in the eighth century, marriages were strictly prohibited, within the fourth degree of kindred; and at the commencement of the eleventh, the prohibition was extended to the sixth degree, at which point it remained, until the period of the Norman conquest.*

It is supposed, that some of the Irish clergy did not extend the degrees of kindred, so far as the Canon Law, then generally followed, required, being content with those laid down, in the Old Testament.† It would seem, from the complaint of Lanfranc, that much importance was attached by him, to the success of an effort, which would render the Irish Church conformable in discipline, on the subject of matrimonial degrees of consanguinity and affinity,‡ to the established practice of his own national Church, and of most of the other Christian Churches, on

* *Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Chap. VII. § II. pp.* 132, 133. In the succeeding pages, 134, 135, will be found some interesting accounts of the customs and ceremonies prevailing amongst the Anglo-Saxons, both before the celebration of marriage, and at the time of the final contract. From these accounts, we may conclude that the distinction of *Sponsalia de futuro*, and of *Sponsalia de præsenti*, was understood, and acted upon, by those people. Dr. Carew tells us, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, chap. VIII.*, that at the period of the English Invasion of Ireland, "marriage could not be solemnised within the seven degrees of kindred in England and the other principal countries of Europe: while, in Ireland, the impediment of kindred did not extend so far. In some time after the invasion, the impediment of kindred was confined, as at present, within the four degrees of relationship." *Note, p.* 326.

† *Leviticus. XVIII.*

‡ "The 29th Canon of the so called Synod of St. Patrick is entitled *Of consanguinity in marriage*, and runs thus; "Understand what the Law speaks, not less nor more. But what is observed among us, that four kinds be divided, they say they have neither seen nor read. *Intelligite quid lex loquatur, non minus, nec plus. Quod autem observatur apud nos, ut quatuor genera dividantur, nec vidisse dicunt nec legisse.*" By those who *say they have not seen*, &c., are apparently meant the persons who composed that Synod. What they call *four kinds* is the same as the four degrees of the canonists; (although, by the bye, they were more than four in Lanfranc's time), and hence it appears, that the theory of them was known in Ireland, and it looks as if they were attended to in practice by some persons. This shows, that St. Patrick had nothing to do with said canon; for in his time the prohibited degrees did not extend so far. Whoever were the authors of it, they seem to have been drawn up for the purpose of restricting the prohibited degrees within the bounds of Leviticus.' *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. III. chap. XXIV. § XII. n.* 97, *p.* 479.

the Continent. But, with regard to the other shameful practices, reprobated by him, on hearsay; it can hardly be possible, that they generally prevailed throughout this Island, however frequent their occurrence may be presumed, in particular instances. For, the Canons of the Irish Church, ascribed to St. Patrick, were held in great respect, by the bishops, clergy, princes and people of Ireland, and they positively prohibited such license.*

Ussher has preserved two epistles, addressed by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Muriardach, or Murtogh, King of Ireland.† The first of these was written about the year 1100, according to the editor, and the latter is without date; but, Dr. Lanigan maintains that one of these letters should only be considered as a different version of the other, their contents being so nearly similar. He maintains, that the latter epistle is only an improved copy of the former, or *vice versa*. As in either letter, there is no reference to the other, nor any thing to show that Anselm wrote twice to Murtogh, on the points treated of, he

* "The most that any Irish canon allowed was the dismissal of a wife on account of adultery, and the injured husband's taking another. In the 26th of what is called the *Synod of St. Patrick* this is permitted; "Audi Dominum dicentem —— non licet viro dimittere uxorem nisi ob causam fornicationis; ac si dicat, ob hanc causam. Unde si ducat alteram velut post mortem prioris, non vetant." Yet in another, which is the 5th of those attributed to St. Patrick alone, a man is prohibited from taking another wife as long as the guilty one is living. It is added that, if she repent, he shall receive her, and she shall serve him as a handmaid, and do penance for a whole year, on bread and water, and that by measure; but that they are not to remain in one bed; "Si alicujus uxor fornicata fuerit cum alio viro, non adducet aliam uxorem quamdiu viva fuerit uxor prima. Si forte conversa fuerit, et agat pœnitentiam, suscipiet eam et serviet ei in vicem ancillæ, et annum integrum in pane et aqua per mensuram pœniteat, nec in uno lecto permaneant." As to women, who quitting their husbands join themselves to other men, they were excommunicated, according to the 19th canon of the Synod of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus; "Mulier Christiana, quæ acceperit virum honestis nuptiis, et postmodum discesserit a primo, et junxerit se adulterio, quæ hæc fecit excommunicationis sit." *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. III. chap. XXIV. § XII. n. 96. pp.* 478, 479.

† See, *Vet. Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge. Epist. XXXV. XXXVI. pp.* 93 to 96. Ussher thought that the Muriardach, to whom the first of these epistles was directed, could have been no other than Murchard, the father of Dermod Mac Murrough, who was slain by the citizens of Dublin, and buried in an ignominious manner, according to the statement of Giraldus Cambrensis. *Expugnationis Hibernicæ. Lib. i. cap.* 17, *n. p.* 142, *Ibid.* In the time of Anselm, there was also a Muircheartach Mac Gillamocholmog, King of Leinster, a Murchadh, King of Uí-Muircadhaigh, and a Muircheartach Mac Gormain, slain at the battle of Magh-Cobha, in the year 1103. See *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters. Vol. II. pp.* 974, 975. But that the prince to whom Anselm wrote, was Muriardach O'Brian, King of Ireland, appears from the address prefixed to each epistle. It is rather strange, also, that Ussher could fall into such a mistake, especially when we take into account his identifying the Muriardach in question, with a prince *Murchertachus, Rex Hiberniæ*, whose name is postfixed to a preceding epistle, regarding the election of Malchus, bishop of Waterford. He should have considered, that Waterford was not subject to a Leinster prince, and that Murtogh O'Brien, included that city, with all the South of Ireland, within his rule. The subscription of *Dermeth Dux Frater Regis*, i.e. of the same Murtogh, should also obviate the mistake. The substance of the letters in question shows, that they were not addressed to a subordinate prince, but to a monarch distinguished as the King of Ireland. Besides, there is no doubt that Muircheartach O'Brian was so distinguished during the time of Anselm, and consequently there is no good reason, in the absence of other proof, to suppose the latter prelate held correspondence, in the instances alluded to, with any other Muircheartach.

considers they are only different copies of one and the same letter, which having been found amongst Anselm's papers, were published by Picard, as distinct letters, and were as such re-edited by Ussher.* It is probable, these letters were written, not long after Anselm had consecrated Samuel O'Hanly, Bishop of Dublin, through whom he had an opportunity of being informed, regarding the character, influence, and rank of King Murtogh. Dr. Lanigan thinks it more probable, that these letters were written, before Anselm left England, in 1097, rather than in 1100, in the latter part of which year he returned thither, after a lengthened sojourn on the Continent.† Ussher assigns no reason for for giving the latter dates.‡

In the first of these letters, Muriardach is complimented on the general prevalence of peace throughout his dominions. His attention is afterwards drawn to the state of ecclesiastical affairs, and to the correction of any possible abuses, which might exist in his kingdom. It is then stated, that a rumour had reached the writer, of marriages being dissolved in Ireland without any good reason, and that persons near akin cohabited openly, and without reprehension, under the name of marriage or otherwise, contrary to canonical prohibition. Anselm likewise complains, that bishops, according to report, were consecrated illegally by a single bishop, or in places where they should not be consecrated; although, in an especial manner, prelates should personally furnish examples of canonical obedience. The King is conjured, by the love he bears the writer, to take counsel with the good and wise men of his kingdom, for the correction of these abuses, and the epistle concludes with a prayer, for his passage from an earthly to a heavenly crown. In the second of those epistles, Anselm commences with some compliments and congratulations, addressed to the monarch; and he advises the king, to correct, with zeal and energy, certain practices reported to prevail in his kingdom, and amongst the people he governed. The writer then repeats the rumour, that men were in the habit of exchanging their wives for the wives of others, in as free and public a manner, as horses or other commodities were parted with, for an equivalent; and, that wives were deserted, at pleasure, or without just reason. These practices are entirely at variance with the sacred scriptures, and the ecclesiastical laws, he is informed, as might be learned by consulting the bishops and religious clergy of the kingdom. He then remarks, that bishops were everywhere appointed, within the bounds of

* From this opinion of Dr. Lanigan, I entirely dissent. I think it will be evident, to all who examine and compare both epistles, that one cannot have been intended as a copy of the other, by Anselm. For, not only is the arrangement, structure, and context of the one, altogether different from that of the other, but even the substance, to a great extent; although, there may be casual points of resemblance, incident to distinct letters, which were written to further the same object. And, even though Ussher may have incorrectly dated the first, and left the last undated, I think there are intrinsic evidences to show, that he has followed a correct chronological order in their publication, the first written being placed first, and the last written duly succeeding it.

† See his life, at the 21st of April, in the *Rev. Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints. Vol. IV.*

‡ For many of the foregoing observations consult *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXV. § VIII., nn.* 47, 48, 49, 50 : *pp.* 19 to 22.

the kingdom, without fixed sees, according to report; and, that a bishop was consecrated by a single bishop, just as each priest received ordination from one of the superior order of clergy. Such a practice was entirely contrary to the sacred canons, which commanded persons thus appointed and consecrated, with their consecrators, to be deposed from the episcopal office. For, a bishop cannot be appointed, unless he have a certain district and people to superintend; as no person, in the world, can retain the name or office of a shepherd, unless he have a flock to feed. The episcopal dignity likewise suffers diminution, where he who is assumed and consecrated for the office of pontiff, knows not, with any degree of certainty, whither he shall proceed, or over whom he shall preside. A bishop should not be consecrated, by less than three bishops; that thus, the faith, life, and solicitude of him, who ought to preside, should be approved by suitable and legal witnesses, and for many other reasonable causes, that cannot be enumerated in a brief epistle. The writer then concludes, by earnestly entreating the king to apply himself to the correction of the evils pointed out, that he may obtain the favor of heaven, and the rewards of the life to come, when called away from earth.*

The licentious evils complained of by St. Lanfranc and St. Anselm, Archbishops of Canterbury, which prevailed amongst the Irish, are denied, or sought to be palliated, by Lynch, in his refutation of Giraldus Cambrensis, from some antient testimonies referring to customs peculiar to the nation. He remarks, that promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, whilst forming no part of their moral code, prevailed amongst the Anglo-Saxons and Scots in Britain, as well as amongst the Irish. He then instances the kind of immorality that was practised amongst the Caledonians and the Meatæ, which latter people lived near the Roman wall, that divided the Island into two parts. The late learned and accomplished editor of Lynch, justly observes, that there is no solid reason for supposing the antient inhabitants of Ireland were free from the vices of their pagan neighbours; both because contemporary authorities, and Lynch himself, when it suits his purpose, states that the manners and customs of the Irish and Britons were nearly the same. It is also probable, that the Caledonians and Meatæ were of the same stock, as the great mass of the primitive population of Ireland. The Caledonians were identical with the Gaoidil, Guidil, Celtæ, &c., as the name itself suggests; whilst the tribes of the Meatæ were the more recent immigrants to Scotland, known as the Cruithne, in Ireland. But, Lynch concedes sufficient to attest the prevalence of licentiousness in our country, previous to the ministry of St. Bernard, who, he says, completely eradicated these disorders. This latter assertion is not clearly proved, and there is no reason to doubt, that many scandalous practices remained until the time of Giraldus, and even to a later period, if we are to receive the testimony of the Jesuit Campion, who wrote in the year 1571. This writer quotes the testimony of

* By way of postscript to this letter, the following remarks are appended in the original: "De fratre nostro *Cornelio*, quem sibi Celsitudo vestra mitti rogavit, dico, quia ita occupatus est circa servitium patris sui, ut nec ab eo queat sine periculo vitæ illius separari, nec eum, qui jam senio confectus est, secum ullatenùs ducere."

Strabo to show, that unnatural incests were committed by the antient Irish; and he maintains, that although Christianity was never extinct in Ireland, since the time of St. Patrick; yet, owing to the unsettled state of the country, and of its inhabitants, religion declined amongst the people, until revived by a better state of discipline, about the period of the Anglo-Norman conquest. He also declares, that the honourable state of marriage was much abused by the Irish, either in contracts, by unlawful alliances against the Levitical and Canonical degrees of prohibition, by divorces at pleasure, by the omission of sacramental solemnities, or by the retention of concubines and harlots.* However, we are not to accept as truthful, the statements of some writers, that the marriage contract was generally disregarded by the Irish, either during the time of St. Bernard, or in ages succeeding.† That very immoral customs prevailed, to a certain extent, amongst the Irish people, both previous to and during the time of St. Malachy O'Morgair's administration, cannot be denied. And, although our saint succeeded in introducing a better state of discipline, for the correction of these evils; yet, it is not possible, that he could have eradicated them altogether, within the term of his ecclesiastical rule. The turbulent state of society, and even the bad example set by ecclesiastics of the higher order, in the Church of Armagh, could not fail in producing a great laxity of morals, amongst the people. The strenuous exertions of those shepherds of the Church, who laboured zealously to imitate their Divine Master, was required, that the laity might be induced to follow the dictates of reason, and to obey the admonitions of the Church and of her pious pastors. Under a different order of things, and with the progress of christianity and civilization, we may wonder greatly at the disorders, against which our saint had to contend; but, the very

* "Yea even at this day, when the cleargie is fainte, they can bee content to marrie for a yeare and a day of probation, and at the yeares end, to returne her home uppon any light quarrells, if the gentlewoman's friendes bee weake and unable to avenge the injurie. Never heard I of so many dispensations for marriage, as those men shewe; I pray God graunt they bee all authentique and buylded uppon sufficient warrant." In a subsequent passage, still treating on Ireland, and the customs of its people, the same writer gives us a very disedifying account of the prevalence of gross immoralities, amongst the Irish. *Campion's Historie of Ireland, cap. VI. pp.* 22, 23, 27. See, on this subject, also, *Cambrensis Eversus. Vol. II. cap. XIX.*, and accompanying notes of Dr. Kelly, *pp.* 352 to 361.

† Thus, Ledwich observes: "St. Bernard and Giraldus Cambrensis assert we had no marriage-contracts, but the—conjuges legitimæ copulatæ—of Lanfranc before, must remove this aspersion. Camden assures us in his time beyond the precincts of towns marriage was rarely contracted, that the Irish united and separated on the most trifling occasions, and that all had a wonderful propensity to incest. Against this evidence it is ridiculous for Macpherson to argue, or attempt to extenuate the turpitude of such customs. Our municipal laws of gavelkind and tanistry confirmed the evil to a late age. By the first an inheritance was provided for the illegitimate, and by the last the clan was kept distinct from any other, so that marriage was constantly amongst near relations." *Antiquities of Ireland, p.* 124. Ledwich is here exceedingly incorrect, when he attributes to Camden the statement, that "in his time beyond the precincts of towns marriage was rarely contracted." But, Camden makes no such statement, he merely says on the authority of Good, that the Irish *seldom marry out of their own town.* There is a material difference between both statements. Good, also, speaks of the Irish being prone to incest; but, it is most probable he means, that they were not very observant of the degrees of affinity and consanguinity, respecting the marriage contract.

difficulties which beset his path should excite our admiration and satisfaction at the extraordinary success, that in almost all instances, attended his preaching and labours.

Much misconception appears to have prevailed amongst certain writers, on the subject of the singing or recital of the Divine Offices, in the Churches of Ireland, during the time of our saint. The canonical hours or offices were not entirely neglected, notwithstanding the complaint of St. Bernard, that they were omitted to be sung in the churches. That they were recited in private is manifest from the silence of St. Bernard, on this point, and from the strictly qualified statement he makes. The Rev. Alban Butler says, that the canonical hours had been omitted, in all the churches of the diocese of Armagh, even in the cities, since the Danish invasions, until the regular solemn rehearsal of them was settled by our saint.* But, this statement is incorrect, for, St. Bernard only speaks of the particular city of Armagh, in this instance; although, in another passage, he remarks, that in the churches of the diocese of Connor, the psalmody of the sacred offices was not heard. Whilst the hours and offices were in general different from those recited at Rome, it is evident, that their recitation was regularly observed, in most of the other parts of the Island. For, in a letter addressed to the bishops and clergy of Ireland, by Gillibert, bishop of Limerick, who was contemporaneous with St. Malachy, and who preceded the latter in the Legative office, he says, that at the request, and even by the advice of many amongst them, he undertook to write without presumption, being desirous of obeying their pious requirements, in giving an explanation of the canonical custom, for reciting the hours, and for the performance of the Divine Office, by the whole ecclesiastical order. He desires, that the various and conflicting rites on this subject, which prevailed throughout almost the whole of Ireland, should yield to the ritual of the Catholic and Roman office. For, he asks, what can be considered more unbecoming or schismatical, than that a most learned ecclesiastic, acquainted with one particular rite, should find himself a fool and a laic, in a strange Church? Wherefore, since all the members of the Catholic Church are united in the one faith, hope, and charity; they are ordered by the Apostle to praise God with united voice and rite, according to the mandate, "That with one mind, and with one mouth, you may glorify God."† Wherefore, as the dispersion of tongues took place through pride, and was brought to unity by Apostolic humility; so, likewise, a confusion of rites having arisen through negligence and presumption, they should be reduced to the established rules of the Roman Church, through the zeal and humility of the Irish clergy. How much, therefore, the unity of observances should be observed, by the faithful, is evident from many passages of the Sacred Scriptures; and, the writer adds, that an image or picture of the Church, attached to his letter, would render his observations sufficiently plain to their comprehension.‡ All the

* See, *Lives of the Saints. Vol. XI. November III. p.* 769.

† *Romans, xv.* 6.

‡ Ussher remarks, that in the copies of the MSS. from which the present epistle was taken, he found subjoined "*Ecclesiæ depicta imago* (cujus in superiori Prologo

members of the Church must be governed by, and be subject to, one Bishop, who is Christ, to his holy vicar, the Apostle Peter, and to the Apostolic President, in the see of the latter saint. He concludes, by saying, "In fine, I ask these rewards from all of you, for this my small share of labour; that, as we ought to praise God here, with one heart and one mouth, so being assisted by your prayers, I may deserve the privilege of singing together with you, in the kingdom of Heaven."*

From the foregoing letter, it will appear, that there was no omission of the ecclesiastical offices, in the greater part of Ireland; although, the variety of the offices and rites prevailing called for a much needed and reasonable reformation. Notwithstanding the Rev. Alban Butler's assertion to the contrary, it is well known, the rehearsal of the Divine Office continued in the Archdiocese of Armagh, long after the commencement of the Danish invasions; for, we find it recorded, that in the year 1014, when the body of Brian Boroimhe had been brought for interment to Armagh, psalms were recited and hymns sung, for the space of twelve days and twelve nights, by the clergy.† And again, in the year 1022, on the death of Maelseachlainn Mor, King of Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh, with other prelates and clergy, attended his obsequies, when they sung masses, hymns, psalms and canticles, for the welfare of his soul.‡ It is probable, during the eleventh century, psalmody was practised in the churches of Armagh; and that it must have been interrupted by those irregular Archbishops of that see, whilst the effects of their evil administration continued, until St. Malachy O'Morgair had been enabled to correct excesses and scandals. That the ecclesiastical offices must have been repeated, and even sung, before our saint revived their celebration in the churches, appears from the circumstance, that he had learned church music at Armagh, in his youth,§ and before he had received holy orders. And, in order that

facta est mentio, et in proximo *libello* sequitur explicatio), hac circumdata περιγραφῇ *ARCA figuram Mundi habuit: fuit enim tricamerata. In superiori parte erant aves, tanquam Angeli in Cœlo. In medio erant Homines (scilicet Noë, et familia ejus) tanquam in hoc Mundo. In imo Animalia et reptilia, tanquam Anima in Inferno.*" He then says, that not being able to find a copperplate engraver, he was obliged to omit these figures from his work. According to Ussher, this epistle was written, in the year 1090, a short time, only, before the birth of our saint. To this Epistle, entitled, *De Usu Ecclesiastico*, and to another entitled. *De Statu Ecclesiæ*, both of which were written by the same Gillibert, Ussher subjoins the following note: "*Ex MS. codice Bibliothecæ publicæ Cantabrigiensis Academiæ descripsi, collato Prologo* De Usu Ecclesiastico *cum alio Benedictini Collegii, et libello* De Statu Ecclesiæ *cum altero monachorum Dunelmensium exemplari, a D. Augustino Linsello Decano Lichfeldiensi accepto. Est autem hic* Gillebertus *ille*, quem aiunt prima functum legatione Apostolicæ sedis per universam Hiberniam, *at in vita Malachiæ retulit Bernardus: non* Gilla Lincolniensis Episcopus *(cujusmodi nunquam in rerum natura quis extitit) quemadmodum in Appendicis illustrium Angliæ Scriptorum Centur. I. cap.* 93. *somniavit Johannes Pitseus.*" *Ibid. p.* 139.

* *Ussher's Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge. Epist. XXX. De Usu Ecclesiastico, pp.* 77, 78.

† *Annals of Innisfallen, at* 1014.

‡ See, *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters. Vol. II. pp.* 800, 801.

§ Whilst treating of his Armagh vicariate, St. Bernard observes: "Ipse vero in adolescentia cantum didicerat et in suo cœnobio mox cantari fecit, cum necdum in civitate, seu in episcopatu universo cantare scirent, vel vellent." From the latter remarks, I deem it reasonable to suppose, that the clergy of Armagh were not

he might acquire a knowledge of sacred music, there must have been clergymen, who were in the habit of singing these offices, at least, in private, and on particular occasions. It is even probable, that the acquisition of a knowledge of church music formed part of that instruction, which was given in the school, where Malachy received his education.

In a tasteful and interesting dissertation, on the Musical Instruments of the Antient Irish, Mr. Beauford attributes to St. Malachy the introduction of the Latin Church Music, in the twelfth century. He says, that this music was more celebrated for its harmonic, than for its melodious perfection, and that it improved the native music, in choral effect.* A more pretentious, but less correct and elegant writer says, that our church music was enharmonic, and on the Greek model; because, as he assumes the antient Irish to have been grounded in religion and learning, and to have been a long time strangers to, and averse from, what he terms *Romish innovations*, it would not have been possible for us to have had music of a different kind.† But, it is quite clear, from the words of St. Bernard, that the church psalmody introduced by our Saint, was the improved Latin or Gregorian chaunt; for, he expressly says, that the canonical hours were sung and intoned, according to the custom of the universal earth,‡ after the practice had been established, in the churches of Armagh. Neither was St. Malachy O'Morgair the first introducer of this chaunt, into Ireland; since, it appears, that before his reforms were fully effected, he had learned this identical music, from his own early instructors, and in his own native district. And, long previous to the time of St. Malachy, the Gregorian style of Church music had been introduced into France. For, King Pepin wishing to abolish the old Gallican chaunt, that he might introduce the Gregorian, when visited by Pope Stephen II. in France, that Pontiff gave instructions on this subject, to its monarch.§ Charlemagne likewise despatched persons to Rome to receive instruction in the Gregorian chaunt; and Pope Adrian I. sent him back two Roman singers, to teach this method of psalmody. Thenceforward, it was gradually adopted throughout France.‖

without some acquaintance with church music, although from their negligence in practising it, they might have lapsed again, into ignorance of the art. The phrase "nec vellent" appears to me confirmatory of such a supposition.

* See *Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, p.* 245.

† Amongst many other ignorant paradoxes, at this passage, the same writer maintains, that we had an independent hierarchy, which neither in 900, nor in 1090, "yielded subjection to St. Ambrose and Pope Gregory." *Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, p.* 240. Ledwich appears throughout this work, to have been strangely embarrassed, by his affected research and real ignorance, and by his blind prejudices. The natural result is easily observable, in the confusion of ideas, manifested throughout his pages. We have seen, already, that the learned Ussher attributes to the year 1090, the date of Gillibert's letter, to the Irish Bishops and clergy, recommending the general introduction of the Roman offices, and at their own particular instance.

‡ By these observations, we are to understand, the rites generally prevailing in France, and the western church, with whose discipline St. Bernard was particularly conversant.

§ *Ducange's Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub voce, Cantus Romanus, Parisiis,* 1840, *et seq.* 4*to.*

‖ See *De Divina Psalmodia, cap. XVII. sec. IV. p.* 592. *Opera Omnia Joannis*

In all probability, the Irish Church, during the first centuries after its establishment, followed the practice of its early missionaries; and, as St. Patrick and his followers arrived in our country from Gaul, it is sufficiently evident, that they must have practised the antient Gallican chaunt, because they could not have adopted the Gregorian, which was unknown at that time.* Their attachment to the usages of St. Patrick, St. Columbkille, and the earlier doctors of the church, most likely influenced the practices of the Irish clergy, for a considerable period. Even, in England, although the Gregorian chaunt was used by St. Augustine and the early Roman missionaries, it was confined to a small portion of the country, until the latter part of the seventh century.† With the Gregorian chaunt, the whole of the Roman Liturgy seems to have been adopted, in the churches of North Britain, founded by the Scottish or Irish missionaries.‡ And, in the disputes that took place between the latter, and the adherents to the Roman discipline, there must have been little, if any difference, between their

S. R. E. Cardinalis Bona, Tomus II. Parisiis, 1627, *et seq.* 8vo. Also, *Joannes Diaconus, Vita S. Gregorii Papæ, Lib. II. cap.* 1. *secs.* 9, 10, *p.* 149. *Acta Sanctorum Martii. Tomus II. XII. Martii.* A beautiful work, illustrative of the musical notation used in the very antient Antiphonary of St. Gregory has been published, with descriptions in French, in Paris, 1851. It is a thin Royal 4to, and bears on its title page the inscription : *Antiphonaire de Saint Grégoire. Fac-Simile du Manuscrit de Saint Gall, (VIIIe Siècle) Accompagné* 1° *d'une notice historique,* 2° *d'une dissertation donnant la clef du chant Grégorien,* 3° *de divers Monuments, tableaux neumatiques inédits, etc., etc. ; Par le P. L. Lambillotte, de la compagnie de Jésus.* In the historic notices prefixed to the Fac-Simile of the MS. of St. Gall, the learned editor proves conclusively that in this *unique* Monument, we really find the work of St Gregory reproduced, of which work the present accurately represents a copy, that belonged to the chantor Romanus, who was sent by Pope Adrien I. to Charlemagne, and who left his own copy at the Monastery of St. Gall. The characters of the musical notation differ altogether from those known as the Gregorian notes, at the present time. In the concluding part of his work, the editor has furnished tabular specimens of ecclesiastical music from MSS. of the VIII. IX. X. XI. XII. XIII. XIV., down to the present century, for the purposes of collation. He has also an explanation of the musical signs used in antient MSS. This is a highly valuable Ritual and Archæological publication, most ably, tastefully, and learnedly edited, and beautifully printed and illustrated.

" Quantumvis elaboraverint Pipinus et Carolus M. ut cantum Gallicanum emendarent, id tamen non nisi paulatum obtinuisse, in monasteriis præsertim, etiam celebrioribus, docet nos Chron. abbat. Corb. MS. fol. 18 vo. ad ann. 986 : *Sub iis temporibus inceptus est novus modus canendi in monasterio nostro per flexuras et notas, per regulas et spatia distinctas, meliusculum dinumerando quam antea agebatur : nam nullæ regulæ extabant in libris antiphonariorum et graduum ecclesiæ nostræ.* [Adde Exkehard IV. de Cas. S. Galli Pertzio, pag. 101.]" *Ducange's Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub voce Cantus Romanus.*

* The Gregorian chaunt had its origin towards the close of the sixth century, and shortly after the elevation of Pope Gregory the Great to the Papal chair, in 590. This pontiff, from whom its name has been derived, not only reformed the antient church music, but even the Missal and Ritual of the Roman Church. The liturgy of the Roman Church had been augmented and revised by Pope Gelasius, a century before the time of St. Gregory.

† See, *Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum. Lib. IV.* cap. 2. p. 259, where we read : " Sed et sonos cantandi in Ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum Ecclesias discere cæperunt."

‡ See, *Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum. Lib. IV. cap.* 18. *pp.* 302, 303, 304. Editio Cantabrigiæ, 1644, fol.

respective liturgies, as no controversy appears to have been raised on this subject.* There was a strong desire manifested by the Anglo-Saxons, to learn the Gregorian chaunt from masters, who were to be found amongst their Roman missionaries; and we are told, that John, præcentor of St. Peter's Church in Rome, had been detained for some time in England, to furnish the necessary instructions for that purpose.†

We have no certainty of the precise period, at which the Roman Church music had been introduced into Ireland; but, it is probable, that its reception was not at first general, throughout the Island.‡ It has been already supposed, from the intercourse existing between France and our Island, that it may have been derived from the former country. The same cause might be adduced, to account for its introduction amongst us, from England, or even directly from Rome itself; for, it is a well established fact, in connection with our early history, that many Irishmen were accustomed to visit these different countries, from the seventh century, to the time at which our saint flourished. And, when we take into account, the various instances of visits made to Rome, and to the Roman Pontiffs, as recorded in the lives and acts of those holy men, whose memories were venerated in the Irish Church, for centuries antecedent to the age of St. Malachy, we can be at no loss to account for the introduction of the Roman Church music into our Island, long previous to the twelfth century. The assumption of our ecclesiastical music being of Greek or Oriental origin, resting as it does on no proof, merits not a serious refutation.

* "Cuminius (anno 657) and Adamnan (anno 680) were abbots of the monastery, from which the Scottish missionaries were sent, and speak of the mass in the same terms as the Roman writers. Cuminius calls it sacrificale mysterium, sacra sancti sacrificii mysteria, (Cumin. edit. Pinkerton, p. 29, 32:) and in the language of Adamnan, to celebrate the mass, is sacra consecrare mysteria, Christi corpus exmore conficere. (Adam. edit. Pink. p. 93. 172.) The general conformity of the antient Roman, Gallic, Gothic, and other western canons, with the present Roman canon, is shown by Georgi, de Litur. Rom. Pont. vol. *III.* p. xli." *Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, chap. VI.* § *II. n.* 13. *p.p.* 120, 121.

† See, *Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum. Lib. II. cap.* 20. *p.* 159. *Lib. IV. cap.* 2, *p.* 260. 18. *pp.* 302, 303. John the Deacon, in his life of Pope Gregory the Great, furnishes us with some account of the character of the Gallic church music and singers of that period. Of the latter he remarks: "bibuli gutturis barbara feritas, dum inflexionibus et repercussionibus mitem nititur edere cantilenam, naturali quodam fragore quasi plaustra per gradus confuse sonantia, rigidas voces jactat, sicque audientium animos, quos mulcere debuerat, exasperando magis ac obstrependo conturbat." *Vita S. Gregorii, Lib. II. cap.* 1. § 7. *p.* 149. *Acta Sanctorum Martii. Tomus II. XII Martii.*

‡ "Ledwich's saying that the old Irish chant was neither Gregorian nor Ambrosian is correct as to the Gregorian; but how did he know that it was different from the Ambrosian? This chant, which is still kept up, was in use before the times of St. Ambrose, (Bona, *ib. cap.* 18 § 10.) and consequently of St. Patrick. It was probably much the same as the Gallican. His adding that ours was on a Greek model may in one sense be admitted as true; and he might have said the same of the Ambrosian and Gallican, the former of which is attributed to an archbishop Mirocletes, and the latter may justly be ascribed to the Greek missionaries, Pothinus, &c., who preached in Gaul. But there is no reason to think, that the Irish received their church music directly from the Greeks, conformably to Ledwich's favourite hypothesis of Greek and Asiatic missionaries in Ireland." *Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. IV. chap. XXVI.* § *VI. n.* 46. *p.* 66.

The consideration of the foregoing questions, having a necessary connection with the age and biography of St. Malachy O'Morgair, and as referring to the discipline of the Irish church, during the twelfth century, could not have been omitted, in an attempt to illustrate the actions and historical period, relative to the illustrious subject of this memoir. The introduction of these matters has required a somewhat lengthened digression and departure from the more immediate province of his biographer, in recording the personal acts of our Saint, and the peculiar traits of his character. Yet, as his individual actions and the contemporaneous social characteristics of his age have exercised an important influence on the state of the Irish Church, in the twelfth century, according to the admitted testimony of persons embracing the most opposite opinions; it will not be supposed, that an enquiry into questions of such national and ecclesiastical importance could be misplaced, in the life of our great Saint, if treated dispassionately and temperately, even, although, the disquisition still remains incomplete and imperfect. Moreover, the authority and influence of St. Malachy, and the position he occupied in the Irish Church have invested the questions under consideration, with a degree of historical interest, apart from their liturgical and doctrinal importance, and by no means removed from an intimate connection with the preceding chapters, nor with those which follow, in immediate succession. But, having already devoted considerable space, and no slight degree of attention, to the matters already discussed, it will be necessary to resume the continuation of the personal history of the holy man.

CHAPTER IV.

St. Malachy visits Lismore.—Favourably received by the holy Bishop, Malchus.—Becomes the spiritual director and friend of King Cormac.

His zeal for the restoration of divine worship and religious rites induced him to visit Malchus, bishop of Lismore, who, although a native of Ireland, had spent a long time in the monastery at Winchester, in England.* This holy man was well versed, in the canon-

* "In Wintoniensi monasterio;" &c. In *Ussher's Veterum Hibernicarum Epistolarum Sylloge*, *Epist. XXXVIII.*, we find a letter addressed by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to a Malchus, bishop of Waterford, about the year 1110, *pp.* 97, 98. In a note, appended to this epistle, Ussher maintains that this Malchus was not only bishop of Waterford, but likewise of Lismore. In a former epistle, written about the year 1096, the people of Waterford, in writing to Anselm say: "Propterea nos, & Rex noster *Murchertachus*, & Episcopus *Domnaldus*, & *Dermeth* Dux noster frater Regis, elegimus hunc presbyterum *Malchum*, *Walchelini* Wintoniensis Episcopi Monachum," &c. *Ibid. Epist. XXXIV. p.* 92. "Besides the name, the circumstance of his having been a monk of Winchester, seems to render this opinion very probable. But St. Bernard says that Malchus was removed from Winchester straight to Lismore, whereas the original see of the Malchus already mentioned was Waterford. There were in those times other persons named *Malchus*, one of whom is mentioned by St. Bernard himself, (*ib. cap.* 5.); and it seems to have been a Latinized appellation for one or other of those many Irish names that began with *Mael*. There might

ical observances of the universal church ; and our Saint, least he might institute anything to the contrary, was desirous of obtaining the counsel of his learning and experience. Having sought the blessing of his former superior, Imar, and the approval of the Archbishop, he set out for Lismore,* and was graciously received by the venerable Malchus. Of this holy man, it is recorded, that being advanced in years, the wisdom of God enlightened his spirit, and that he attained a plenitude of days and virtues. Such were the graces he received, that he was not only illustrious for the purity of his doctrine and morals, but even for the performance of miracles.† It would appear, that the name of Malchus had not been unknown beyond the boundaries of his native Island, and the country in which he had passed such a lengthened portion of his life; for, even the Scots or Northern Britons‡ were accustomed to resort, for the benefit of his instructions

have been two persons, so called, monks at Winchester. If a union really took place between Waterford and Lismore, as Keating (or perhaps his translator) insinuates to have been ordered by the synod of Rathbreasil, (see *Chap. XXV.* § 14.) it might be supposed that one and the same Malchus was bishop of both sees. But the matter is so obscure, that I cannot pretend to decide upon it. Gratianus Lucius (*Lynch*) held the same opinion (*Camb. Ev. p.* 167.) as Ussher, but has given us no proof of it." *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol.* iv. *chap. XXVI.* § *VII. n.* 53. *p.* 74. The same writer supposes Malchus to have been the immediate successor of Mac-mic-Aeducan, Bishop of Lismore, who died in the year 1113. See, *Harris' Ware, Vol. I. Bishops of Lismore, p.* 550. In the latter work, however, a Gilla-Mocudu O'Rebacain, which name, according to Harris, signifies *Rebacain the servant of Mocudu*, and who died in 1129 (*Ibid.*) is made the next successor to Mac-mic-Aeducan. "But surely," remarks Dr. Lanigan, "Malchus was bishop there some years before that time, as is clear from St. Malachy's having repaired to him thither about 1123. In consequence of that mistake they were puzzled as to the precise period of Malchus' incumbency, Ware saying that he flourished in 1140, (when he was probably dead) and Harris, that it was in 1134. Indeed Harris has shamefully bungled the whole business, telling us elsewhere, (see above, *Not.* 44,) that St. Malachy went to Lismore when only twelve years old, that is, about A. D. 1107. He throws in a caveat, that Malchus was not yet a bishop. Had he read or did he understand St. Bernard, who tells us in the clearest terms, that Malchus was a bishop, and a celebrated one, of Lismore, before he was waited upon by St. Malachy?" *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol. IV. Chap. XXVI.* § *VII. n.* 54, *pp.* 74, 75. *In O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, vol. II. pp.* 1028, 1029, and at the year 1128, we have the death of "Mac-Maras Ua Reabhachain, successor of Mochuda," recorded. To that date Ware added a year, and it would seem, that O'Rebacain was only abbot, and not bishop, of Lismore.

* Dr. Lanigan is of opinion, that our saint probably arrived at Lismore about the year 1123, and for the reason, that he was ordained when about 25 years of age, or about the year 1120, and was afterwards Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Armagh "for some time, which can scarcely be supposed to have been less than two or three years." See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol. IV. Chap. XXVI.* § *VII. p.* 73, and *n.* 55. *p.* 75, *Ibid.* It will be seen elsewhere, Dr. Lanigan is at least a year behind the date of our Saint's birth.

† In illustration of this statement, St. Bernard adds : "Quorum duo pono exempli causa ; ut omnibus innotescat, qualem in scientia sanctorum Malachias habuerit præceptorum. Puerum mente captum, ex his quos lunaticos vocant, inter confirmandum sacra unctione sanavit. Hoc ita notum certumque fuit ut illum mox constituerit ostiarium domus suæ, vixeritque idem puer incolumis in eo officio usque ad virilem ætatem. Surdo auditum restituit : in quo idem mirabile quiddam confessus est, quod cum sanctus utrique auriculæ hinc inde digitos immisisset, duos quasi porcellos ex ipsis exire senserit."

‡ St. Bernard says : "ad eum Scoti, Hibernique confluerent," &c.

and spiritual guidance, to the city, where he usually resided. Mindful of the expression of holy Job, that, wisdom is to be found amongst seniors,* Malachy was anxious to place himself under the direction of this experienced sage.

He spent some years under the guidance and instruction of Malchus, being loved and respected not only by him, but by all his newly acquired friends, in a city which had then attained an enviable reputation at home and abroad, on account of the crowds of scholars that frequented its schools, some of whom were drawn from remote continental countries. It also pleased the Almighty to render manifest in part to men, what was fully known to the great Searcher of hearts. The virtues of his servant Malachy could not fail to merit the approval of all, who had an opportunity of witnessing his whole course of motive and of action. And, that distinguished saint, who had already effected so much in behalf of Religion, and whose services were yet required for the Irish Church, before his earthly career was destined to terminate, had further occasions to exercise the duties of his station in life, whilst residing in the once celebrated city of Lismore.

During his sojourn in this place, a quarrel arose between Cormac MacCarthy, king of Munster, and his brother Donogh, which ended by a victory obtained over the former, who was driven from his kingdom.† In his distress, he fled to the holy Bishop Malchus, but without any desire of asking his interference in the recovery of his title and possessions. It was rather through a desire of courting obscurity for the remainder of his life, which he intended to devote to prayer and penance. On the arrival of the dethroned monarch, Malchus was anxious to show him those marks of honor, which were suitable to his former rank; but, the fallen monarch would not permit such demonstrations, saying, that he preferred the entertainment afforded to the Brothers of the poor community, by which the bishop was surrounded. He declared himself willing to set aside his royal ornaments, in joining this band of religious; and to await rather the will of Almighty God, in his regard, than seek to establish his power by renewed violence, and the effusion of human blood. This declaration pleased the holy bishop; so that in compliance with the wishes of Cormac, a poor habitation was set apart for his accommodation, and his diet consisted solely of bread and water. Malachy was named as his spiritual director, and his holy presence and conversation so wrought on the king, that he was often accustomed in the words of Holy Writ to cry out; "How sweet are thy words to my palate! more than honey to my mouth."‡ The austerities of the royal penitent were extraordinary. His couch was frequently watered with tears, after the example of the holy David.§ In order to extinguish the motions of concupiscence, he was

* "In the antient is wisdom, and in length of days prudence." *Job, XII.* 12.

† *S. Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. IV.* This order of account would seem to conflict with the statements of the early Irish annals, which refer this quarrel to the year 1127. *Annals of Innisfallen.* It must then have occurred, after the expulsion of Malachy, from the See of Connor.

‡ *Psalm CXVIII.* 103.

§ "I have laboured in my groanings, every night I will wash my bed: I will water my couch with my tears."—*Psalm* VI. 7.

in the habit of plunging each day into a bath of cold water, that the flesh might be kept in subjection to the spirit. He often addressed Almighty God in that short prayer of the Royal Psalmist; "See my abjection and my labour, and forgive me all my sins."* His prayers were heard, by the Sovereign Judge, to whom they were addressed; and, in a manner, different from his expectations or intention. Solicitous to acquire a heavenly crown, the possession of a temporal one was completely removed, not only from his desires, but even from his reflections. Yet, God who is the vindicator of innocence, and the scourge of the oppressor, furnished, in this instance, a memorable example of the usually short duration of injustice, by hurling the usurper from his throne. A neighbouring chieftain,† moved with indignation against the usurper, on account of the disorders introduced by his violent proceedings, and seeing the whole kingdom a prey to the rapine of freebooters, the insolence of subordinates, and the evils of anarchy, sought an interview with the dethroned monarch, and made an offer of alliance, in order to effect his restoration. He endeavoured at first, but in vain, to arouse the ambition of Cormac; and, when his solicitations were disregarded, on this score, he represented the attempt as a matter of duty to the oppressed poor, to his ravaged kingdom, and to the justice of God himself, who would not withhold his interposition in so righteous a cause.‡

* *Psalm XXIV.* 18.

† St. Bernard remarks; "neque enim unum est Hibernia regnum, sed divisa in plura." The chieftain alluded to, in the text, was Conor O'Brien, who then held the principality of Thomond, under a sort of vassalage to Turlogh O'Conor.

‡ In Mr. O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. II. pp.* 1058, 1059, when recording the death of this monarch, who is there called, erpucc mc, in the original Irish, we have these terms rendered, "Bishop of the Kings." But in a note (r.) *Ibid.*, he remarks, that they might also be rendered, "bishop-king," i. e. of Ireland, as Mr. Petrie has translated them, in his *Round Towers of Ireland.* Though Drs. Lanigan and O'Brien consider him to have been honoured with the title of bishop, for his piety and liberality to the church, Dr. Petrie inclines to an opinion, that this Cormac, who was the ancestor of all the septs of the MacCarthys, was really a bishop, as well as a king, of Munster. The latter writer observes, "It will be recollected that in one of the passages already cited,—that from the Annals of Innisfallen, at the year 1127,—it is stated, that on his expulsion from the throne of Cashel in 1127, Cormac was obliged to take refuge in Lismore, where he was forced to receive a *bachall*, or crozier: but though there is nothing improbable in the circumstance that a deposed prince, of his high character for piety, should have received the episcopal rank to reconcile him to his fallen condition, the statement in the Annals is not sufficient to establish that such was the fact, as the word *bachall* is used in the Irish authorities not only to denote the crozier of a bishop, abbot, or abbess, but also the penitential staff of a pilgrim. But there is another historical evidence of much higher authority, because a cotemporaneous one, which would go far indeed to establish the fact that Cormac had received an episcopal crozier, and enjoyed the dignity of a bishop, when he was restored to his throne." Mr. Petrie then quotes an entry, found at the end of the Gospel of St. John, in a MS. copy of the Gospels, written in Ireland, and now preserved amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, n. 1802. The writer invokes a prayer, for himself, stating that he, Maelbrighte h-Ua Maeluanaig, wrote the Book at Armagh "the year in which Cormac Mac Carthaig, royal bishop of Munster and of all Ireland also in his time, hath been killed." Dr. O'Conor in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Prolegominæ, p. CXLIII.*, gives a fac simile of the original entry, and seems to have entertained no doubt, that Cormac was a royal bishop, as he is here called. See, *Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland, Part II. subsec. I. pp.* 307, 308.

It required the positive command of Malchus, and the earnest advice of Malachy, to induce the king to attempt the recovery of his former possessions. Relying altogether on their judgment and the reasons urged by them, he accepted the offers of assistance made by his faithful ally. By their conjoined efforts, the usurper was forced to abdicate. Cormac, on taking possession of his former inheritance, was saluted with the general acclaim of his subjects, and the disorders of the State were afterwards, in a great measure, obliterated.* It is needless to repeat, with what love and veneration the restored king ever afterwards esteemed his spiritual father. For, as he had experience of tender affection and solicitude, in the hour of adversity, he was not unmindful of these disinterested proofs of attachment, on the return of temporal prosperity. He continued to cultivate the mutual friendship already formed, by the most tender endearments. In all matters of great moment, the advice and opinion of his saintly director were sought by the king, and his actions were often regulated in accordance with their expression. It was not a merely fortuitous circumstance, that caused the name of Malachy to be thus magnified, in the presence of kings; for, so the Lord ordained, that he, who had been constituted a vessel of election, and who was destined to bear his messages to kings and princes, should have thus early obtained a merited distinction, honourable alike, both to him who received, and to him who conferred, these special marks of esteem and respect.† It is evident, from references made to our antient annalists, that St. Bernard has misplaced the foregoing accounts, in the life of our saint. In due chronological order, they should have found insertion, after the expulsion of St. Malachy from the see of Connor, which took place about the year 1127.‡

* It appears most probable, from the antient Irish annalists, that this Cormac MacCarthy was bishop, as well as king. Thus the Annals of Kilronan record his death. "A. D. 1138. Cormac, grandson of Carthach, chief king of Desmond and bishop king of Ireland in his time for piety and the bestowal of jewels and wealth to the clergy and the churches, and for ecclesiastical wealth to God, in books and implements, fell treacherously by Thomond: and a blessing on his soul." In the Annals of the Four Masters, at the same year, we have the following entry. "A. D. 1138. Cormac, son of Muireadhach, son of Carthach, lord of Desmond and bishop king of Ireland in his time for his bestowal of jewels and wealth to the clergy and to the churches, the improver of territories and churches, was treacherously slain in his own house by Toirdhealbach, the son of Diarmaid O'Brien, and by the two sons of O'Conor Kerry." See, *Dr. Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland, Part II. subsec. I. p.* 311. The same writer, whilst he remarks, that the entry of Cormac's death, in either instance, leaves it "optional with the reader whether he should consider him a bishop in reality, or only in a figurative sense," owing to the want of punctuation between the terms, "bishop" and "king," states nevertheless, that "evidences appear to me to favour the conclusion that Cormac was really a bishop, as well as king of Munster."

† *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. IV.* §§ 8, 9, 10. *pp.* 1473, 1474, 1475 1476. *Opera S. Bernardi, Tomus II.*

‡ In the same year, A. D. 1127, it is recorded in the Annals of Innisfallen, that "A great army was led by Turlough O'Conor to Cork, he himself going by land, and a fleet by sea round to Cork, and he and Donough MacCarthy with his people caused Cormac, son of Muireadhach, son of Carthach, to be dethroned, so that he was obliged to go on a pilgrimage to Lismore, and take a staff there; and Donogh, son of Muireadhach, son of Carthach, was inaugurated in his presence." In the

The mutual friendship, subsisting between our saint and king Cormac, appears to have continued without the slightest interruption, until the death of the latter, which occured in the year 1138, when he was buried within that beautiful erection, known as Cormac's Chapel, and which yet remains in a very perfect state, as one of the group of ruins, surmounting the celebrated rock of Cashel, in the County of Tipperary.* According to tradition, the tomb of this Cormac Mac Carthy lay within a quadrangular recess, placed in the north wall of Cormac's Chapel, and between the doorway and the tower. A tomb,

same year, it is said, that a church had been erected at Lismore, and another at Cashel, by the same Cormac. The consecration of the latter took place seven years afterwards, in the year 1134, and the archbishop and bishops of Munster, and the magnates of Ireland, both lay and ecclesiastical, were present on the occasion. The *Annals of Kilronan*, *Chronicon Scotorum*, the continuation of the *Annals of Tighernach*, and the *Annals of the Four Masters*, assign the consecration of this church to the same year; whilst Mageoghegan's translation of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* places this event in the year 1135. The death of Cormac Mac Carthy took place in the year 1138, at which year, we are told, he built the church called, Teampull Chormaic, in Cashel, and two churches in Lismore. See, *Dr. Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland, Part II. subsec. I. pp.* 290, 291. Whilst St. Bernard gives the substance of the foregoing transactions, as found in the text, he does not enter into the particulars as to dates and names (excepting the name of Cormac, which is mentioned, in the ninth chapter of the life of our saint.) The *Annals of Innisfallen*, at the same year, in which they record Cormac Mac Carthy's dethronement, say, that he became a pilgrim and took a crozier at Lismore. They, likewise, at A. D. 1127, record his restoration in this manner. "In the same year Conor O'Brien disavowed the authority of Turlogh O'Conor, and went to Lismore, and gave his hand to Cormac Mac Carthy, and brought him again into the world, and made him king of Desmond, and dethroned and banished Donogh Mac Carthy into Connaught; in doing which he was abetted by Turlogh O'Brien (his brother), and by O'Sullivan, O'Donoghue, O'Mahoney, O'Keefe, O'Moriarty, and O'Faolain." Although Dr. Lanigan maintains, that the church, founded at Cashel by Cormac Mac Carthy, must either not be confounded with that which is commonly known as Cormac's Chapel, or that the latter had been only repaired by him; and although he says, that the architecture of Cormac's Chapel indicates a period long prior to the times of Cormac Mac Carthy, dating back to the time of Cormac Mac Culinan; it is quite certain, that his conjecture is incorrect, as fully shown by Mr. Petrie, in his learned work, already quoted. Dr. Lanigan supposes it possible, the two Cormacs had something to do with that structure: Cormac Mac Culinan being its founder, and Cormac Mac Carthy its restorer. He thinks it probable, that a chapel founded by the former, had been injured in 1121, when Turlogh O'Conor burned Cashel, and hence the need of reparation by Cormac Mac Carthy. And as Turlogh burned Lismore, Dr. Lanigan also thinks, that what is said of the two churches built there by Cormac Mac Carthy, as related in the *Annals of Innisfallen*, should be understood in like manner. See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. Chap. XXVI. § VII. nn.* 57, 58. *pp.* 75, 76. All these suppositions of Dr. Lanigan are completely disproved by Dr. Petrie, who shows conclusively, that Cormac Mac Carthy was the original founder of Cormac's Chapel, on the rock of Cashel, and that from him also, its name is derived. See, *Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland, Part II. subsec. I. pp.* 289 to 314.

* In the interesting periodical, published in Dublin, in 1840-41, entitled, *The Irish Penny Journal*, we find the following remarks, written by Mr. Petrie, and referring to Cormac's Chapel. "It can scarcely be doubted that this was the finest architectural work hitherto erected in Ireland, but its proportions were small; and when, in 1152, the archbishopric of Munster was fixed at Cashel by Cardinal John Paparo, the papal legate, it became necessary to provide a church of greater amplitude. The present cathedral was in consequence erected by Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, and endowed with ample provisions in lands, and the older church was converted into a chapel, or chapter-house."—*Vol. I. No.* 3. *p.* 18.

which is to be found there at present, however, is not the original one, which had been removed into a small chapel, in the north transept of the Cathedral, more than a century since, and after the abandonment of that noble edifice, in the time of Archbishop Price.* This is now popularly called "the Font," an object which it in some measure resembles, being divested of the covering stone, which is said to have been ornamented with a cross, and to have exhibited an Irish inscription, containing the name of Cormac, king and bishop of Munster.†

CHAPTER V.

The sister of St. Malachy dies.— Historical notices and description of Bangor.—The Oratory built there by St. Malachy.—Accident occurs during its erection.—Rule of the Saint over the Community there established.—Increase of members.

THE death of his sister, who has been already alluded to, took place, during the absence of Malachy from Armagh. Moved with fraternal tenderness for her correction, and seeking to withdraw her from worldly affections and desires, the Saint had bound himself by vow, that he would never see her so long as she remained in the flesh. Being now loosed from the bond of the flesh, she was seen in spirit by the brother, who had refused to see her corporally. For on a certain night, as his biographer states, Malachy seemed in his sleep to hear the voice of one telling him, that his sister stood without

* Such was the information, received by Dr. Petrie, from the late Mr. Austin Cooper.

† We are told, that this sculpture and inscription were ground off its surface by a tradesman of the town of Cashel, who appropriated the stone as a monument for himself and family. With a number of other interesting engravings relating to Cormac's Chapel, Mr. Petrie, also, presents us with one, representing the portion of this tomb remaining, which displays many interlaced traceries, sculptured on the front, and the character of which is said to refer obviously, to the twelfth century. The length and breadth of the tomb are such as to fit exactly in the recess, from which it is said to have been removed. The writer adds: "But, strong as these circumstances appear, there is yet a fact to be stated, which may throw some doubt on the truth of these traditions, or at least so far as they relate to the tomb having been that of the founder of the church, namely, that, on the opening of the tomb, there was discovered a crozier of exceeding beautiful workmanship, and which, from its form and style of ornament, there is every reason to believe must be of cotemporaneous age with the chapel. It is certain, at all events, that its age cannot be many years later; and I may remark, that a perfectly similar head of a crozier, which is preserved amongst the antiquities in the Museum of Cluny, is ascribed by the learned author of "*Les Arts au Moyen Age*," to the commencement of the twelfth century. The Cashel crozier, after having been in the possession of the Cooper family, of Cashel, for a considerable period, passed into my possession at the sale of the museum of the late Dr. Tuke, it having been purchased by him at the sale of the library of the celebrated Joseph Cooper Walker, author of the Memoirs of the Irish Bards, and other works, and to whom it had been given by Mr. Austin Cooper" See, *Dr. Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland, Part II. subsec. I. pp.* 288 to 307. Further on, Mr. Petrie gives an engraving and description of this beautiful antique crozier.—*Ibid. pp.* 312 to 314.

in the hall, and that for thirty entire days she had tasted no kind of food. On waking, he readily conjectured the nature of the want under which she pined; for, on calling to mind the number of days mentioned, he found on examination, that during this period, he had neglected to offer up the Holy Sacrifice for her repose. He again reverts to this pious duty so long interrupted, as the Saint's natural affection for his deceased sister continued, whilst he only entertained a regret, that her past sins had caused the present inquietude of her soul. After the lapse of a short time, she was again clothed with a grey garment, at the entrance of the church, which she yet felt unable to enter. Continuing with steady perseverance to invoke the divine clemency in her behalf, he beheld her the second time clothed in a garment almost white, admitted within the church, but unable to approach the altar. Being seen at length, the third time, she was clothed in a garment of the most snowy whiteness, and admitted within the choir. The prayer of St. Malachy is thereupon compared to a violent assault made on the gates of heaven, his departed sister obtaining, through the intercession of her brother, the rewards which were denied to her own demerits. Hence, may be seen the efficacy of the prayers of the just, and the potency of intercession, on the part of the saints of God, even whilst upon earth, to effect the release of souls, from the pains of another life. And, from this incident, we may also deduce the inherent efficacy of the most adorable Sacrifice of the Altar—that Sacrament, in which the mercies and omnipotence of the Saviour of mankind have been so frequently manifested in behalf of sinners; and which, to the end of time, must indicate the power and the charity of a bounteous Redeemer, who has conquered the spirits of darkness, and opened heaven by the merits of his passion. Through this "clean oblation," also, those that have departed this life in peace with God are delivered in the other world from the bonds of their earthly exile.*

In the middle of the sixth century, the famous abbey of Bangor, in the county of Down, was founded by St. Comgall. Such was the fame of his sanctity, that in a short time, he had several thousand monks under his jurisdiction. This parent establishment was the fruitful mother of many others, both in Ireland and Scotland.† Not only in those countries, but in many others, on the Continent, a number of holy men went forth in crowds to spread the faith of Christ, and plant the germs of sanctity and sacred learning. One of the brethren of this monastery, named Luanus, is said to have founded one hundred religious houses. From this single instance, St. Bernard leaves his readers to infer, how great must have been the multitude of holy persons, that issued from this foundation, and how many blessings it must have conferred on religion. St. Columbanus, also, on taking leave of the holy abbot Comgall, brought with him twelve companions to Gaul, where he founded the abbey of Luxeuil, in the present Department of Franche-

* *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. cap. V.* § *II. p.* 1476. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus* 11.

† "Multa millia monachorum generans, multorum monasteriorum caput." *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. cap. VI.* § 12. Keating, in his History of Ireland assures us, that forty thousand monks were at one time subject to St. Comgall. *Dermod O'Connor's Translation. Vol. II. p.* 28.

Compte. It is said, that the number of his monks at this establishment had increased in such a manner, that they were obliged to sing the divine praises in successive choirs or bands, and that every single moment of the day or night was employed in the recital or chaunting of the church offices. In the year 812, the monastic establishment of Bangor was destroyed by the Danes, who, it is said, massacred the bishop and nine hundred monks at the time.* Its possessions were then large, but after the destruction of the building, owing to the unsettled state of the country, they probably became the spoil of the first successful lay usurpers.† They had now passed into the hands of the maternal uncle of St. Malachy, who, moved by the inspiration of God, resolved to devote himself, with Bangor, and its dependent lands, to the service of religion.‡

The present town of Bangor is delightfully situated, at the head of

* "Ils pillerent la fameuse Abbaye de Banchor, et tuerent l'Evêque avec neuf cens Moines." *L'Abbé Ma-Geoghegan's Histoire de l'Irland. Tome I. Part II. chap. V. p.* 377. To this massacre, it is probable, St. Bernard alludes, when he says: "Hoc olim destructum a piratis, ob insigne dignitatis antiquæ, Malachias, veluti quemdam replantaturus paradisum, amplexus est, et quia multa corpora sanctorum dormirent ibi. Nam ut taceam illa quæ in pace sepulta sunt, ferunt nongentos simul una die a piratis occisos." Dr. Lanigan thinks it probable, that this was an exaggerated tradition, as he could not find any mention of such great slaughter in our Irish documents. According to the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, p.* 107, Tanudius, Abbot of Bangor, was killed by the Danes, A.D. 956. Dr. Lanigan supposes it probable, that on this occasion many of its monks were also put to death; and that we may thence perhaps date the devastation spoken of by St. Bernard. "To its having been so ancient cannot be opposed the circumstance of one or two abbots of Bangor being mentioned as having lived between that year and St. Malachy's times; for, although monks had ceased to be there, the title of abbot and the emoluments were, as will be just seen, still continued. Harris thought (*State of the County of Down, p.* 64), that St. Bernard applied by mistake the slaughter of the British monks of Bancor by the Northumbrian King, Aedilfrid (See *Not.* 12 to *chap. XV.*) to the Bangor of Ireland. But Aedilfrid and his army were not pirates, such as St. Bernard mentions; and the number of those British monks killed, was much greater than that stated by him. Harris has the infamous lie about Aedilfrid having been instigated by Augustin the monk." *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI. § IX. n.* 62, *p.* 79.

† Not only were the lands of the monastery held by those persons, but even the title of Abbot. "Si quidem a tempore, quo destructum est monasterium, non defuit qui illud teneret cum possessionibus suis. Nam et constituebantur per electionem etiam, et Abbates appellabantur, servantes nomine, etsi non re, quod olim extiterat." *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. VI.* § 13. These assumptions of ecclesiastical titles, by laymen, were common in England, and on the Continent of Europe. Even so late as the reign of George the Third, his infant son, the Duke of York, was named Bishop of Osnaburgh, on account of the title annexed to a German estate. Hence, also, proceeded the abuses often connected with the privilege of presentation to benefices, by feudal lords and sovereign princes.

‡ From the manner in which St. Bernard expresses it, "confestim in manu ejus sua omnia dedit, et se quoque," I am not able to say, whether this uncle of our saint embraced a religious life, under the direction of Malachy, or lived as a dependant on the lands, once owned by himself, and afterwards assigned for the support of the monastery. Dr. Lanigan says, that this uncle placed himself under our saint's direction, as a monk, and adds in a note: "Here we have an instance of the election of a Cormoba or Corbe, undoubtedly by the sept which had got possession of the lands, that formerly belonged to the monastery." *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol. IV. chap. XXVI.* § *IX. p.* 78 and *n.* 64. *p.* 86. *Ibid.*

a semicircular bay of the same name, at the outer part of Belfast Lough, opening to the sea, and on the north shore of the County of Down. The harbour affords a refuge for fishing craft of considerable tonnage, and the town itself is in easy communication with Belfast by means of steamers, which arrive and depart daily. The present town recedes from the rocky shores of the bay, along a gentle ascent, at the upper extremity of which may be seen the Established Church, within an enclosed graveyard, where no very antient monuments are now to be seen. Immediately adjoining the church, some ruined walls of an old building are shown; and they lie partly within the garden of the Rectory or Glebe House, and partly facing the ornamental grounds of Bangor Castle, within the demesne enclosure, and not far from the entrance gate. These ruins are situated about one half statute mile from the waters of Bangor Bay.* They are partly covered with trees and creeping plants, and although of some extent and height, they appear quite featureless on the exterior, whence only I have been enabled to obtain a view of them. I was informed by an intelligent inhabitant of Bangor, who accompanied me,† that the ancient cemetery extended a considerable distance from these old walls into the demesne, as could be proved by the quantity of human bones removed from time to time, by labourers engaged in effecting improvements. He also gave me to understand, that local traditions confirmed these disentombed indications of a former burial place; whilst, the same traditions assigned the antient monastic site to the place, where the present ruins are to be seen. A learned authority has apparently referred the site of the antient church, founded by St. Comgall at Bangor in 552, to the exact *locale* of the present Protestant church; but, perhaps, it might be safer to aver, that its location could not have been very remote from the spot indicated by him.‡

All the circumstances, as related by St. Bernard, would naturally incline me to the opinion, that the new monastery established by our Saint must have occupied the site of that founded by St. Comgall. The church attached to it appears to have been well constructed, considering the rather perishable material of which it had been built, and it was not altogether devoid of ornament.§

The name Bangor is popularly supposed to have had the signification of *White-choir;* and this is the explanation of its nomenclature, given by Sir James Ware. Nearly a similar explanation of the name is given by Colgan, when treating of Bangor, in Wales.‖ In reference to the

* See, *Ordnance Survey Sheet of County Down, No.* 2.

† On the occasion of a visit made in the June of 1857.

‡ See, *Reeves' Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore, p.* 13, and *n.* (p.) *Ibid.*

§ Mr. Petrie, from a passage in the *Leabhar Breac*, shows that our antient *duirtheachs* or *oratories* were coloured with lime or whitewash, in some instances, from an allusion explanatory of "the mystical significations of the colours used in the vestments of a priest, and in which the white, which was typical of purity, is compared to the colour of the calx or lime on the gable of a *duirtheach.*" *Round Towers and Antient Architecture of Ireland. Part II subsection II. pp.* 349, 350.

‖ "Ban *enim idem Britannis sonat quod pulchrum, Hibernis vero quod album; et hinc* Banchor, *sive* Banchora *idem quod pulcher chorus, vel albus chorus.*" *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ. Vita S. Moinenni.* 1. *Martii. p.* 439.

building erected by St. Malachy, during the twelfth century, Harris says, that Bangor had its name, *a Pulchro Choro*, or from its fair and white choir. He asserts that it was thus designated from the elegance of its building, which was constructed of lime and stone, and which is said to have been the first of the sort erected in Ulster. Before the period of St. Malachy's foundation, he says that Bangor was called the *Vale of Angels*.* But, he is singularly mistaken in accounting for the name of Bangor, which place was thus designated, so early as the sixth century. Harris refers the origin of its derivation to an event, which had its commencement in the twelfth century. De Burgo is equally at fault in his etymology for Bangor.† It is probable, that the fanciful derivation of its name may have been suggested, by the narrative of a vision, witnessed by St. Patrick, near the site of the future abbey. We are told, that on a certain day, he ascended an elevated mount, situated near a valley, in which the monastery of Bangor was afterwards built. Here, from the hill, he beheld the valley in question filled with an ætherial light, and with a multitude of heavenly spirits.‡ The Latin appellation, *Vallis Angelorum*, is probably traceable to this legend; which, however, will not at all account for the nomenclature of Bangor.§ The situation of the old monastery was

* *History of the County of Down, p.* 64.

† "Vernaculè dicitur *Benchor* seù *Banchor*, a pulchro Monachorum Choro. *Bane* siquidem Hibernice significat *Album*, *Choraidh* vero *chorum*. Nunc autem passim nuncupatur *Bangor*, estque Burgus, ut vocant, Parlamentarius in *Danensi* Agro *Ultoniæ*. Ibi porrò Rudera nonnulla antiqui Monasterii nuperrimè vidi. Quatuor duntaxàt Milliaribus distat *Villa Nova*, ubi olim erat Fratrum Prædictorum Cœnobium, ut dicetur Cap. ix. § xi." *Hibernia Dominicana. Cap. I. § XIV. n (b.) p.* 21.

‡ *Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga. Jocelin's Vita S. Patricii. Cap. XCVIII. p.* 88.

§ "The name Bangor is of a very different origin: it is really only a modification of the word *Banagher*. The two forms are frequently exchanged. Thus Banagher in the county of Derry, is called *Bucharra* in the Taxation of 1291; and *Bangoria*, in one of the year 1397. Banagher, on the east bank of the Shannon, is written Beannċon in O'Donovan's map of Hy-Many. The name, simply, and in composition, is very common. There is a Bangor in the parish of Kilcommon in Mayo; a townland Banagher in the parish of Fiddown, in Kilkenny; and in the parish of Liskeevy, in Galway. A Loch Bannagher in the parish of Killymard in Donegal; Cool-banagher (Cuil Beanċain, *Calend* of O'Clery,) in the Queen's County; Drum-Banagher (Druim Beanċuin, IV. Mast, 1032), in the county of Armagh; Movanagher (Magh beannċain), on the Bann, in the parish of Kilrea, county of Derry; and the antient church of Ross-bennchuir, placed by Archdall in the county of Clare.

"In these cases the root of the word is the same, being beanna, the Irish for *horns*. O'Brien and O'Reilly explain 'beannaċan or beannċuin' by 'beanna bo, *cow horns*.' And, figuratively the word is applied to the sharp pointed rocks in the Shannon, and the crests of helmets. Beanna, in like manner, is used to denote certain local appearances; thus Benna Barchè, the old name of Mourne Mountains, signifies 'the peaks of Barche.' By an analogous change the Latin *cornu*, as in the '*Cornua* Parnassi bicipitis' of Statius; the 'rubræ *cornua* cristæ;' and the '*cornua* velatarum antennarum,' of Virgil, came to signify 'a peak,' 'a crest,' 'a tip.'" *Rev. Wm. Reeves' Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore. Appendix. H. pp.* 199, 200. The derivation of this word Bangor is traced to a tradition of the country recorded by Keating, and seems to bear out this most learned and laborious antiquary in his assertion. By Keating, we are told, that "Kennfaolad, son of Blathmac, son of Hugh Slaine, enjoyed the sovereignty four years. In his reign Bangor was burned, and its congregation slain, by the foreigners. The reason why that place was called Bangor was this: Breasal Breac, King of Leinster, went with

undoubtedly within a vale, on either side of which two gentle eminences or ridges of land are to be seen. And its location well deserved the title of the *Vale of Angels*,* (which according to the old tradition it formerly bore,) as well on account of its beautiful site, as also, for the reason, that a numerous band of holy men sung the praises of the Almighty on the spot, and for a long lapse of ages. The zealous labours of St. Malachy were destined to be employed, in endeavouring to effect a continuance of these pious exercises; and, the holy servant of God devoted himself to these efforts, with an incredible degree of activity and perseverance.

Malachy, having been called from Lismore, by his friends Celsus and Imar,† who were long impatient on account of his absence, received

an army to plunder Scotland; and he brought many cows and herds of cattle with him into Ireland. And after he and his forces landed, they formed an encampment in the place which is now called Bangor, and slaughtered a great number of the cattle there, until a considerable number of the BEANNA, i.e. *the horns of the cows*, were scattered over the plain, so that the place ever since bore the name of *Magh Beanncoir*. A long time after that, when the holy abbot Comgall erected the monastery of Bangor in the same spot, he gave the name of the place in which it was erected to it, viz., *Beann-char*, so that it has retained it ever since." *Ibid.* The Rev. Mr. Reeves has given hopes of the publication of a separate volume on the History of Bangor. No man could be better qualified for the performance of such a task.

* However different may have been the allusions and *locale*, which the "divine Spenser" celebrates, in his fanciful poem of *The Faerie Queene*, the following passages will, nevertheless, not inaptly accord with incidents of the past history of our Irish Bangor :—

> "He in his furie all shall over-ronne,
> "And holy church with faithlesse handes deface,
> "That thy sad people, utterly fordonne,
> "Shall to the utmost mountaines fly apace:
> "Was never so great waste in any place,
> "Nor so fowle outrage doen by living men;
> "For all thy cities they shall sacke and race,
> "And the greene grasse that groweth they shall bren,
> "And even the wilde beast shall dy in starved den.
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> "And Bangor with massàcred martyrs fill;"
> *Book III. Canto III. Stanzas XXXIV. XXXV.*

† In Harris' Ware, after stating that our saint had been under the government of Malchus at Lismore, we find the following incorrect account :—"Upon his return to Ulster (he was admitted into Priest's orders, in the year 1120, by Archbishop Celsus, in the 25th year of his Age)." *Vol. I. Archbishops of Armagh, p.* 54. Whilst Dr. Lanigan takes Harris to task, for placing the return of St. Malachy to Ulster, in 1120, and for not noting in St. Bernard's Life of him, the fact of his having said mass, and consequently, of having been a priest, and even a Vicar General, at Armagh, before going to Lismore; the learned Doctor endeavours to show, that our saint did not go to the latter city until later than 1120. See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI.* § *VIII. n.* 60, *p.* 77. Elsewhere, we have seen, that he refers this first visit of Malachy to Lismore, to about the year, 1123. Again, Dr. Lanigan maintains, that the first return of St. Malachy, from Lismore, was probably in 1127, the year in which he became intimate with Cormac M'Carthy, at Lismore. See, *Ibid. p.* 76. But, with regard to the period of our saint's return, Harris is far nearer the truth, than Dr. Lanigan. The latter, assuming St. Bernard's narrative to follow the chronological series of St. Malachy's actions, and testing it by the date found in our native annals, naturally supposed, that the expulsion and

from his uncle the gift of Benchor and its domains; to the end, that by restoring the monastery to its former flourishing condition, he might render it worthy of the fame it had once enjoyed. But our saint would only retain the consecrated spot of ground, on which the ruins stood; and, although he was strongly urged to accept the land and appurtenances belonging thereto, he would by no means acquiesce in the views of those, who advised him to consult rather for the ease, than for the humility, of the restored community. The right to these domains was made over to another, and his appointment as proprietor took place, according to the established usage.

At the instance of Imar, having taken ten religious with him, the work of building commenced, under the supervision of Malachy. During the progress of the work, an accident occurred, which, owing to the interposition of divine Providence, as his biographer insinuates, was not attended with a more fatal result. Whilst anxious for the progress of the building, the saint, unaccustomed to this kind of work, as we may suppose, must needs render manual assistance. One of the workmen came within range of an axe, which he flourished in rather an awkward manner. It struck with great force on the spine of the laborer's back, and felled him to the ground. His companions ran towards him, supposing him either killed, or at least, dangerously wounded. But, although his garments were completely rent, from the effects of the stroke, scarcely a scratch was visible on the skin, and no dangerous consequences ensued. This singular preservation of the laborer was considered miraculous by his fellow-workmen, who were encouraged to prosecute their task, with the greater alacrity and zeal; whilst their admiration was manifested, in an unbounded manner, at the fortunate result of this accident.

The oratory, which the saint had undertaken to build, was finished with despatch, and it presented an architectural appearance, not common to other houses of the same class in Ireland, although of the material most generally used for building purposes, at that time. It was constructed of wood, well joined together, and presented an ornamental appearance.* By the appointment of his former superior Imar, the holy vicar was called to the office of spiritual ruler of the Community formed under him. Malachy, being a spectacle for men and angels, allured to the practice of virtue, rather by action than by

restoration of Cormac Mac Carthy took place during the time of our saint's first residence in Lismore. But, in this he was evidently mistaken, as will be seen by referring to dates contained in our annals; and the mistake has led him into many subsequent errors, altogether irreconcilable with the chronology of Malachy's life. The saint was ordained, in the year 1119, if not in the year previous; and, it is probable enough, he visited Lismore not long afterwards, when his stay appears to have been of short continuance, before his being recalled by his bishop Celsus, and his superior Imar. It is also possible, he might have formed the acquaintance of King Cormac Mac Carthy, during his first stay at Lismore, and long previous to 1127, the year of that king's expulsion and restoration. Our saint returned from his first visit to Lismore, if not in the year 1120, at least shortly afterwards; for, we must allow him some considerable time, after his arrival at Armagh, to have built the oratory at Bangor, and to have formed a character for himself, in ministerial experience and zeal, before he was elevated to the see of Connor, in 1124.

* "Porro oratorium intra paucos dies consummatum est de lignis quidem lævigatis, sed apte firmiterque contextum, opus Scoticum, pulchrum satis."

persuasion; he led the way in all pious performances, so that his devoted children found it a matter of no easy attainment, to emulate successfully the example, furnished by their Superior. The pious practices of the original cœnobites of Bangor were successfully emulated, by the community, under St. Malachy's spiritual rule; although the number of monks was not so great, as in the olden time. Malachy was distinguished amongst his brethren, for the performance of many holy actions, not specially required in the ordinary directions and observances of his monastic rule.

Whilst occupying his present situation, two remarkable accessions to his religious family deserve to be recorded. In one instance, a certain person named Malchus,* on his sick bed, was moved by the enemy of his salvation, not only to refuse the spiritual ministrations of Malachy, but even to resolve on his destruction should he presume to offer them. Our saint was forewarned, by his friends, of the insane resolution expressed by this wicked person; but, fortified by the arms of prayer, he visited the sick man, and restored health both to mind and body. To express more perfectly his gratitude for this cure, the sick man, being restored to health, assumed the religious habit, and placed himself under the guidance of the saint. A like miraculous cure was performed on a cleric, named Michael, who had been afflicted with a dysentery, and who labored under a dejection of mind. This man was delivered from his infirmity, by partaking of something, which was sent from the table of Malachy. Feeling grateful, for the benefit bestowed on him, and for the miracle wrought on his behalf, he began to reflect on the possibility of relapsing into a more dangerous state. This man also imitated the example of the former, and afterwards founded many monasteries, surviving his benefactor, and ruling over the last of his own foundation,† at the time St. Bernard wrote.‡ Thus, the reputation of St. Malachy extended at home and abroad, and his Community daily increased, both in number, and in the practice of perfection.§

* Of this Malchus, St. Bernard observes: "Frater est iste secundum carnem Christiani nostri, Mellifontis abbatis. Ambo enim superstites adhuc sunt, sibi in spiritu modo germaniores. Nam ille, ut liberatus est, continuo non ingratus, loco eodem conversus ad Dominum, habitum simul animumque mutavit. Et cognovere fratres malignum invidere bonis eorum; et ædificati sunt, facti de reliquo cautiores."

† St. Bernard says of this monastery, that it was situated, "in partibus Scotiæ."

‡ Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. VII. § 15. The restoration of the Abbey of Bangor, by St. Malachy, is supposed to have taken place, in the year 1120. *Abbē Mac Geoghegan's Hist. d'Irelande.* Part II. chap. XIV. It must be referred to a later date, if we admit St. Bernard's statement of the "annos aliquot," which St. Malachy passed with the Bishop of Lismore.

§ *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. VI. VII.* §§ 12, 13, 14, 15. *pp.* 1477, 1478, 1479. *Opera S. Bernardi, Tomus II.*

CHAPTER VI.

Malachy called to the see of Connor.—Abuses there prevailing and reformed.—Forced from his see.—Flies to King Cormac who hospitably receives him.—Builds a Monastery.—State of the Church of Armagh.—St. Malachy nominated as successor of Celsus, in that See.

In the year 1124, a vacancy occurred in the succession to the see of Connor,* and Malachy, who had hardly completed his thirtieth year, was unanimously elected to the episcopal charge.† The earnest entreaty of his two friends, Imar and Celsus, overcame the repugnance he felt to assume this honour. After a long resistance to the call of heaven, he yielded to the labours imposed on him, by the assumption of this new dignity; but surmounted these labours, by exercising that zeal and perseverance, which a stern sense of his duty required.‡

St. Bernard bitterly inveighs against the barbarism of the people, over whom he was called upon to preside. He tells us, that although nominally Christians, they were in reality little removed in condition, from that of Pagans. Morality was not practised, religious offices were neglected, uncivilised customs were established, discipline was spurned,

* In a synod held at Rath Breasil, about the year 1118, according to Dr. Lanigan, the number of Irish dioceses, previously in existence, was reduced to twenty-four: twelve being under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Armagh, and twelve under the Archbishop of Cashel. The boundaries of each were accurately defined. "The diocese of the Bishop of Cuinire extended from Binn Fiobhne to Torbuirg, and from Port Murbuilg to Hollorba, and to Cuan Snamha Haigne, and from Gloin Riogh to Colbha Gearmann." *Dermod O'Connor's Keating's History of Ireland. Vol. II. p.* 189.

† St. Bernard says: "Tricesimo ferme ætatis suæ anno Malachias consecratus episcopus introducitur Connereth:" &c.

‡ "The age of Christ, 1124. St. Maelmaedhog O'Morgair sat in the bishopric of Conneire." *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, vol. II. pp.* 1018, 1019. Yet, Dr. Lanigan, reasoning on false premises, will not allow this early date of his accession, to the see of Connor. He adds in a note: "St. Bernard's words: *(ib. cap.* 6.) '*Tricessimo ferme ætatis suæ anno Malachias consecratus episcopus,*' have been understood by Colgan *(Tr. Th. p.* 300.) as referring to A.D. 1124, reckoning from his birth in 1095. He has been followed by Ware and Harris, *(Bishops* at *Connor).* But this date cannot agree with St. Malachy's having been acquainted, before he returned to Ulster, at Lismore with Cormac MacCarthy, and his having been there when Cormac was liberated in 1127, a date which I find no sufficient reason for calling in question. We may suppose, that he was consecrated in that same year; for it is clear that he was but a short time at Bangor when he was appointed bishop; and St. Bernard's round number, *tricessimo ferme,* must be explained not as meaning exactly or nearly thirtieth, but as we would say, *about thirty;* although in all likelihood St. Malachy was then thirty-two years of age. *Ferme* is often used for *thereabouts, more or less.*" See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI.* § X. *p.* 86, and *n.* 65, *pp.* 87, 88. *Ibid.* For the date of our saint's accession, to the see of Connor, the Rev. Mr. Reeves, in his annals of the place, which he says are chiefly compiled from the Four Masters, has "Æ. C. 1124 . . . . . S MAELMAODHOG UA MORGAIR do fuide erpoiscecc Chonnerre," which he translates, "S. MALACHY O'MORGAIR is ordained bishop of Connor." "*Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore. Appendix. T. p.* 242. Speaking of our saint's elevation to the see of Connor, Fleury says: "il avoit environ trente ans quand il fut sacré évêque, et ce fut par conséquent vers l'an, 1125. "*Histoire Ecclesiastique. Liv. LXVIII.* § 68.

their actions were disedifying, and faith seemed in a manner banished from amongst them.* Tithes and first-fruits were unpaid, marriages were not duly legitimised,† the confessionals were not frequented; and, it was almost as difficult a matter to find a confessor, as a penitent, the ministers of religion being few in number. The voice of a preacher of the word, or of a chorister to sound the praises of God, was seldom heard in any of the churches. Here, indeed, was a field for the exercise of a zeal truly apostolic; and Malachy, like the true pastor of souls, who is ever ready to lay down his life for his flock, stood forth as an intrepid shepherd, in the midst of the wolves, that brought destruction into the fold.‡ He spent whole days and nights in prayer, he preached the word of God, in season and out of season; but always with fruit. He was gentle towards the erring, he was patient towards the violent, conciliatory with the obstinate, and always seeking to overcome evil by good. He became all things, to all men: some were exhorted in public, others admonished in private; some were firmly reproved, whilst others were mildly urged, by tears of affectionate persuasion. Blasphemers of the name of Christ were brought to praise his holy name: the obstinate and hardened of heart became mollified, through the perseverance of the good Bishop, whose heart, truly contrite and humble, ever yearned towards sinners. His labours were crowned with success, in the abundant harvest of souls, gathered to his fold.

Although, having the charge of an extensive diocese, and of a considerable city, Malachy dwelt in his favorite retreat at Bangor, which

* St. Bernard gives us the following account of the state of things, in the see of Connor, at the time of bishop Malachy's accession to his assumed dignity. "Cum autem cæpisset pro officio suo agere, tunc intellexit homo Dei, non ad homines se, sed ad bestias destinatum. Nusquam adhuc tales expertus fuerat in quantacumque barbarie: nusquam repererat sic protervos ad mores, sic ferales ad ritus, sic ad fidem impios, ad leges barbaros, cervicosos ad disciplinam, spurcos ad vitam."

† St. Bernard says: "Non legitima inire conjugia." This does not relate to the neglect of marriage, but probably to the disregard of the seven degrees of kindred, laid down in the canons, and already treated of. Owing to the system of clanships, and to the practice of the Irish marrying within their septs, these regulations were not generally received in Ireland. These rules were even found so difficult of observance, in other countries, that, shortly after the death of St. Bernard, they were modified. In the Fourth Council of Lateran, (Canon L.) it is insinuated, that urgent necessity and evident utility demanded, that the prohibition to enter the married state should not exceed the fourth degree of consanguinity or affinity. See, *Cabassutius' Notitia Ecclesiastica, Historiarum Conciliorum, &c. p.* 439. St. Bernard does not mean to say, that the people of Connor did not marry, for, if he did, the word *legitima* would not have been used. It is probable, he alluded to the practice of not celebrating marriage by *sponsalia de præsenti*, but by *sponsalia de futuro*; a practice, elsewhere supposed to have existed, within the Archdiocese of Armagh. Harris says, that St. Bernard charged the people of Connor with being "Adulterers, Enemies to all lawful Marriage." *Harris' Ware, Vol. I. Bishops of Connor, p.* 218. Such interpretation does not convey the real meaning of St. Bernard; but Harris, like many other writers treating on this subject, did not understand the distinctions drawn in the canon-law, nor the force of the terms in use, amongst Catholic Theologians.

‡ St. Bernard says: "Et quanquam omnes lupi, et oves nullæ; stetit in medio luporum pastor intrepidus, omnimodis argumentosus, quomodo faceret oves de lupis."

was near his cathedral church.* Accompanied by the band of his disciples, he made frequent visitations of his diocese, and traversed all the rural districts and villages on foot, performing his ministrations, after the model set by his divine master. When not engaged on these missions, he was to be seen, in the streets and bye-places of his episcopal city, seeking out the lost sheep of his fold, endeavoring to gain them to Christ. Mental anxiety, personal insults, injuries, want, nakedness, cold and hunger were often the portion of this holy confessor. But, in a short time, the face of things began to assume a change, for the better. Discipline was restored, the Latin rite was instituted, ecclesiastical customs were introduced, churches were everywhere built, and priests ordained. The tribunals of penance were thronged, marriages were legalized, and all the Sacraments were received, in a becoming manner. The people flocked to the churches, to hear the word of God announced, by the heralds of salvation. The heroic confessor of Christ persevered in the labours of his exalted station, and the words of Divine wisdom, which fell from his lips, captivated all hearts, and rendered his exertions in the service of God, triumphantly successful. And the truths of religion, which he proclaimed to the people of his diocese, were duly appreciated, wherever they were promulgated; whilst the Spirit of God wrought a manifest change, in the souls of the most obdurate sinners. So remarkable was the reformation accomplished, through the pastoral solicitude of Malachy, that the whole face of things assumed a new appearance. At the time St. Bernard wrote his life, the words of the prophet might be truthfully applied to the diocesan subjects of the see of Connor: "And I will say to that which was not my people: thou art my people."† The prayers of the holy Bishop were offered unceasingly to the Almighty, in behalf of the people entrusted to his care; and he had the consolation of finding, that many strayed sheep returned to the fold, which heretofore had been cruelly ravaged by the ravening wolves of error and impiety.‡

But the work of reformation was again interrupted. One of those predatory incursions, so frequent in the annals of Irish History, and which were usually attended with such disastrous results to the vanquished, occurred about the year 1127. The king of Ulster took possession of the city of Connor, plundered it, and destroyed it, in great part, having dispersed the inhabitants. St. Bernard remarks, with the prophet,§ that as evils proceed from the north, so a king of the northern part of Ireland occasioned this destruction. But, he also observes, that it was even possible the Almighty permitted this calamity, that he might obliterate, in this manner, the former degeneracy of morals prevailing amongst the people of that particular district.

* Whilst treating on our saint's residence at Bangor, and before mentioning his appointment to the see of Connor, St. Bernard says: "ibi demorabatur etiam factus episcopus, quod locus esset vicinus civitati." *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. VII.* § 15 *p.* 1479. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

† *Osee, c. II.* 24.

‡ *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. VIII.* §§ 16, 17. *pp.* 1479, 1480, 1481. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

§ *Jeremias I.* 14.

And, beyond all question, this temporal evil furnished the opportunity for the accomplishment of future good, when turned to proper account, by the zealous and religious labours of Malachy and of his disciples. The holy Bishop and his band of religious were obliged to fly for protection to Cormac, king of Munster, by whom they were joyfully received.* A place was set apart for the building of a monastery, in his kingdom; and with renewed zeal and energy, the religious community set about the erection of their new foundation.† The king

* The monks, subject to the jurisdiction of St. Malachy, at this period, are said to have amounted in number to 130 brethren. In a marginal note, on this passage, I find the comment, "Alias, *viginti*," in the Benedictine edition, which I have used. In the Trinity College Library MS. of our Saint's life, I find "centum XX.ti."

In Mabillon's Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti, Tomus VI. Lib. LXXVII. § XLV. p. 315; *Paris Edition*, 1703 *fol.*, St. Malachy is said to have brought with him to Munster, 130 brethren.

† "Hac occasione monasterium Ibracense constructum est." *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. IX.* § 18. After showing the mistakes of Ware, Alemand, and Alban Butler, Dr. Lanigan observes, regarding the location of this monastery: "I have not the least doubt, but that Ibrach or Ibrac, as spelled by St. Bernard, was no other than the district still called Iveragh (b and v commutable in Irish), now a barony in the county of Kerry. The establishment formed there by St. Malachy seems to have ceased soon after his departure from Munster, as it is very probable that the brethren followed him back to Ulster, and we know that the monastery of Bangor, whence they had come, continued to exist after these times." Dr. Lanigan states, that St. Malachy took with him 120 brethren to Munster; and supposes, that he was not consecrated Bishop of Connor, before the year 1127. He conjectures the devastation of Connor to have taken place, in the year 1130. Colgan, Ware, and Harris are our authorities, for the dates given in the text. The irruption, whereby our Saint was driven into Munster, is thought by Dr. Lanigan to have occurred after the death of Celsus, Archbishop of Armagh, and whilst Malachy was still at Connor; even, although St. Bernard speaks of his going to Munster, and before treating of the last proceedings and death of Celsus. He says, that St. Bernard must be understood, as writing by anticipation, and as continuing his account of the personal transactions of St. Malachy. He adds: "And in fact he says that, while the Saint was reforming the diocese of Connor, &c., Celsus happened to fall sick; and his stating that Connor was not destroyed until *some years, annos aliquot*, after St. Malachy had undertaken the administration of it, obliges us to suppose, that he did not go with his 120 brethren to Munster before the death of Celsus, which occurred on the 1st of April, A. D. 1129. Now St. Malachy could not have been bishop of Connor prior to 1127, according to what we have seen above. *Note* 65. We must therefore allow for the *some years* of St. Bernard, some longer time than what had elapsed before April 1129. Perhaps the devastation in which Connor was destroyed, was that of part of Ulster, 1130, by Conor, son of Artgoil Mac Lochlin, at the head of the forces of Tirconnell and Tirone. (See Annals of Innisfallen at A.D. 1130.)" With regard to the monastery founded by our Saint at Ibrac, the Rev. Alban Butler says, that some suppose it to have been near Cork, others in the isle of Beg-Erin, where St. Imar formerly resided." *Lives of the Saints. Vol. IX.*, at 3rd of November. Alemand supposed that this Ibrac was the same as Beg-Erin, near Wexford. *Histoire Monastique d'Irelande, p.* 54. It is likely, this wild conjecture was hazarded, from some fancied similitude between the name Ibrach and St. Ibar, the founder of the first monastery in Beg-Erin; but it shows Alemand's ignorance of Irish history and topography, for Ibrach was within the bounds of Cormac Mac Carthy's kingdom, as St. Bernard states, whilst Beg-Erin was far removed from these bounds. "Ware, who was greatly in error with regard to Ibrach in his *Cœnobia Cisterciencia* (at *Newry)* afterwards thought, *(Ant. cap.* 26 at *Cork)* that it was the same as the Abbey near Cork, called of St. Barr or Finbar. But the account, which he gives of this abbey, shows that he was mistaken. He says, that it was founded for Regular Canons of the Order of St. Augustine by King Cormac, that is, the Cormac, friend of St. Malachy. Now the community, which St. Malachy

expended his treasures, in a very liberal manner, to aid the undertaking, and was so anxious to see the community properly lodged and comfortably provided for, that he was continually present with them, during the progress of the work. Although, in habit, Cormac appeared a king; he, nevertheless, comported himself as if he were, in reality, the subject of Malachy. He sent a number of animals, for the use of the exiled monks; and, in a most hospitable spirit, supplied every thing necessary for their support. The charge of their maintenance was at the cost of the monarch. In a short time, this foundation prospered, as was usually the case with all undertakings, commenced and conducted by our Saint. The number of his disciples increased, and rich endowments were made, for the support of the house. King Cormac visited his former friend and master, very frequently, to obtain spiritual aid and advice. Malachy, as usual, was distinguished for his love of holy poverty; and, in every action, he was foremost amongst his brethren, in observing the requirements of the rule and discipline, he had proposed for their adoption. The humility of our Saint was eminently conspicuous, in his new station; for, enjoying all the dignity of bishop and superior of the community, he discharged the most menial offices of the house, with joy and alacrity. He served up food from the kitchen, and waited on the brethren, whilst they sat at table, according to the order of time, appointed in the rules and discipline he had promulgated. In like manner, when he might reasonably exempt himself from reading and singing in church, he would by no means neglect what he imposed on himself, as an indispensible obligation. And, such was the sanctity of the holy bishop, that the choicest blessings of Heaven seemed to descend on the place he had selected for his habitation, and amongst the people who had provided him with shelter, and who respected his spiritual rule.*

Previous to this period, great irregularities prevailed, in the administration of the ecclesiastical affairs of the northern province. The salutary regulations, established by St. Patrick, the first bishop of

governed at Ibrach, consisted not of Regular Canons, but of monks of the old order of Bangor, or of St. Comgall, as is clear from St. Bernard. Next he says, that it was founded about the year 1134; but in this year St. Malachy was at Armagh, having already returned from Munster. It is therefore clear, that the abbey of St. Barr, otherwise called Gill-abbey, was quite different from the house of Ibrach." Dr. Lanigan thinks it probable, our Saint was still there, when the death of Maurice O'Hindrectaigh took place at Armagh, on the third of October, 1131, as related in *Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, p.* 303. This latter, who is called Comorban of St. Comgall, is conjectured to have been, perhaps, a person, who had held the lands, which had belonged to the monastery of Bangor, under the title of *Comorban* or *Corbe*. In a note, he remarks: "It is hard to think, that he could have been the superior of the monks of Bangor, whereas St. Malachy seems to have retained that office to himself; unless it might be said that he acted as a substitute for the Saint, while attending to his diocese of Connor. It may be suspected, that Maurice O'Hindrectaigh was the uncle of St. Malachy, who, as we have seen, had possessed those lands, and who, being too old to follow the Saint to Munster, had retired to Armagh. He is spoken of as a holy man; but I do not find him called uncle to St. Malachy." See *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI.* § *XI. p.* 88. *n.* 67. *pp.* 89, 90, and § *XII. nn.* 73, 74, 75, *pp.* 91 to 93, *Ibid.*

* *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. IX.* § 18, *p.* 1481, 1482. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

Armagh, for the government of the Irish Church, were openly and scandalously violated. Such was the veneration entertained towards their great Apostle, by the people of Ireland, on account of the labours he had undergone in propagating the faith throughout their country, that not only the bishops, priests, and clergy, but even the kings and princes of all the parts of our Island subjected themselves to his Primatial rule, in the true spirit of Christian obedience. The See, over which he ruled when living, became the metropolitan or principal diocese in Ireland. But, in the lapse of time, and during the social disorders which prevailed, before the accession of Malachy to this see, a variety of abuses required the firm and persevering exertions of that Apostolic man, in order to their extirpation. The evil example afforded to the other suffragan dioceses of Ireland, unfortunately produced its usual results; and, throughout the whole Island, a departure from ecclesiastical rules and discipline, a disregard of canonical censures, an indifference in matters of religion, very generally prevailed. Barbarism usurped the place of civilization and social refinement; and Pagan practices obtruded themselves, under the guise of Christianity. The revenues of the church of Armagh were enjoyed by a certain powerful clan or tribe, who always contrived to keep the tithes and possessions, annexed to the see, within the circle of their own family connections. And, although a sense of common justice and decency might require an ecclesiastic to fill the office and dignity of the Archiepiscopal See, it frequently happened, that laics and married men were intruded on its inheritance and administration. Without orders, they exercised a tyrannical sway over the laity and clergy of the Archdiocese. Without an apparent reason, and unordained, Bishops were transferred, or increased in number, at the mere pleasure of the metropolitan.* For upwards of two hundred years, and during fifteen successive generations, the see of Armagh was possessed by members of this powerful family.† No less than eight married men, without ecclesiastical orders, had preceded Celsus; but, we are assured, notwithstanding the prevailing ignorance of laics, about this time, that all of these intruders were men of learning.‡ All of those persons were not assumed in lineal descent, from the same branch of a family, as we discover, from the difference in the surnames; it is, however, highly probable, that these usurping members of families belonged to the same tribe. Celsus, although descended from the dominant race, differed from most of his predecessors, in the see of Armagh. This prelate, possessing all the other qualities of a good Bishop, wanted that firmness, requisite to restore the primitive discipline of his Church, and to eradicate the abuses arising from the scandalous pretensions of his own family. But, he had sufficient discrimination to discover the qualities necessary for

* St. Bernard adds, that "unus episcopatus uno non esset contentus, sed singulæ pene ecclesiæ singulos haberent episcopos. Nec mirum : nam quomodo tam morbidi capitis membra valerent."

† St. Bernard observes : "Et eousque firmaverat sibi jus pravum, imo omni morte puniendam injuriam, generatio mala et adultera, ut etsi interdum defecissent clerici de sanguine illo, sed episcopi nunquam."

‡ St. Bernard says of these, that they were "viri uxorati, et absque ordinibus, litterati tamen."

the exercise of these onerous duties; and he found them united, in Malachy. During the absence of the latter, in Munster, the good bishop, worn down with age and infirmities, and finding his end was fast approaching, expressed an earnest wish that his holy vicar, whom he had gradually promoted to the successive orders of ecclesiastical rank, should receive the plenitude of jurisdiction in the Irish Church, by succeeding to the see of Armagh, on his own demise.* He brought all who were present during his infirmity, to promote this nomination, by their influence, and the same injunctions were issued to those absent; especially, to the two most powerful princes of Munster, and to the other magnates, in various parts of the Island. The acclamations of the faithful were joined with the wishes of the good bishop, in hailing Malachy as his successor.

CHAPTER VII.

Vision of St. Malachy before his accession to the see of Armagh.—Usurpations of Maurice and Nigellus.—Peace restored.—Design on the life of the Archbishop.—Having restored order, St. Malachy resigns the Primacy.

During the sickness of Celsus, St. Malachy was warned, in a vision, of the dignity to which he was about to be elevated. He seemed to behold a woman of commanding stature and of a venerable appearance, who approached him with a pastoral staff, which she placed in his hands, and immediately disappeared. The Saint desired to know who she was, and received for answer, that she was the spouse of Celsus; which, gives us to understand, that she personified the Church, to which he had been wedded.† A few days after this, the pastoral staff of the dying Celsus was sent to the holy man, designed as his suc-

* The death of this prelate is thus recorded, at the year 1129, in *Mr. O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, vol.* 11. *pp.* 1032 to 1035. "Ceallach, successor of Patrick, a son of purity, and Archbishop of the West of Europe, the only head whom the foreigners and Irish of Ireland, both laity and clergy, obeyed; after having ordained bishops, priests, and persons of every degree; after having consecrated many churches and cemeteries; after having bestowed jewels and wealth; after having established rules and good morals among all, both laity and clergy; after having spent a life of fasting, prayer, and mass-celebration; after unction and good penance, resigned his spirit to heaven, at Ard-Padraig, in Munster, on the first day of April, on Monday precisely, in the fiftieth year of his age His body was conveyed for interment, on the Wednesday following, to Lis-mor-Mochuda, in accordance with his own will; it was waked with psalms, hymns, and canticles, and interred with honor in the tomb of the bishops, on the Thursday following. Muircheartach, son of Domhnall, was appointed to the successorship of Patrick afterwards." In the *Annals of Ulster,* at the same year, the account of his death and actions is almost similar.

† Hanmer remarks, in his *Chronicle of Ireland, p.* 206, that, in the Church of Armagh, "there were before *Celsus,* eight bishops married men, besides himselfe, without orders, yet learned men; &c." It is probable, the account of this vision induced Hanmer to believe that Celsus was a married man, contrary to the inference to be drawn from his being "a son of purity," as found in the Irish annals, and the total absence of any reliable evidence to warrant the contrary assertion.

cessor; and, having seen this ensign of his new office, it was immediately recognised by Malachy, as bearing an exact resemblance to the one seen by him, in the vision. Thus, the design of Providence, in his regard, seemed to be expressed in a miraculous manner; but, objections were yet urged by the Saint, to escape the manifest call of heaven.

An usurper of the dominant family, named Maurice, contrived to intrude himself on the archiepiscopal throne, in the place of his kinsman Celsus.* Although the favourable wishes of the people were inclined towards Malachy, yet the violence of a particular faction prevailed; Maurice was supported in his unjust usurpation, by the power of his family, and by the unfortunate precedents, already established. Although urged, on all sides, to accept the office of bishop, our Saint alleged the danger of tumult and bloodshed were he to enter on the discharge of its duties. This result he feared, not so much on his own account, as through an apprehension of the many lives, which might be sacrificed amongst the partisans, on both sides, interested in the quarrel. During five years of anarchy and confusion, Maurice ruled the church of Armagh, more after the manner of a tyrant, than of a bishop.† At length, in the year 1132, Malchus, bishop of Lismore, and Gillebert, bishop of Limerick, and Legate of the Apostolic See for the whole Irish province, having convoked in council the bishops and chief men of the Island, Malachy was unanimously elected Primate. A threat of excommunication was held out against him, moreover, in case of his refusal to accept the appointment. He urged, in vain, the danger, the difficulty, and the responsibility that would devolve on him, and his incapacity to meet them; he alleged the power, the ambition, and the violence of the faction leagued against him; he represented the length of time elapsed, since those evils had their origin, the probability of blood being shed in a vain attempt to extirpate them; he deprecated the sad necessity, which might urge him to a course of measures, calculated to precipitate a calamity, so much to be dreaded; and, in fine, he declared, that being already bishop, he could not forsake the church and diocese, over which he had been placed. Finding his remonstrances unheeded, he cried out, "You drag me to death:

* "This *Maurice*, (of whom before) was descended from that noble Family, which had now for 208 years, possessed itself of the Archiepiscopal See, and held it, as it were by hereditary Right. [He was the son of *Donald*, Predecessor to *Celsus*, and Grandson of *Amalgaid*, Archbishop of *Armagh*.] Upon the death of *Celsus* he entered on this see, and held it alone for three years; and two years more in schism against *Malachy*. He died in 1134, on the 17th of September, having expressed great signs of Remorse and Penitence, as our Annals say." *Harris' Ware. Vol.* 1. *Archbishops of Armagh, p.* 54. Harris further adds, that St. Bernard "is so uncharitable as to pronounce Damnation both to him and Nigell;" and that with an unbridled license the saint "calls this whole Family, a damnable Tribe." These terms are too strong to represent the meaning of St. Bernard's words, in the original Latin; and, it is quite untrue to assert, that the saint pronounced damnation on either Maurice or Nigell, however, severely he may have commented on their irregularities. The foregoing date of the death of Maurice accords, very exactly, with the account of St. Bernard, who says, he usurped the see for the space of five years; for, it would appear, that on the death of Celsus, in 1129, Maurice obtruded himself, into the Church of Armagh, contrary to the dying wishes of Celsus.

† See *Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, pp.* 301, 303. St. Bernard says: "Is per quinquennium, fretus potentia sæculari, incubavit Ecclesiæ, non episcopus, sed tyrannus."

but I obey you, in hopes of finding the crown of martyrdom, and on condition that you will pledge your faith, should things succeed in a prosperous manner, should God protect his patrimony from those who seek to divide it, that you will suffer me to return to my former spouse, and to my beloved poverty, from which you remove me. The Church being restored to peace, you must replace me by some other person, who will be found more capable than I am, of its government and direction."* On a promise being made to this effect, he readily acquiesced in their election. The vision which he had, before the departure of his predecessor Celsus, also, occurred to his memory; although, it would appear, he had long concealed it, from the knowledge of others. Not wishing to oppose any further obstacle to the manifestation of the Divine will, in his regard, he prepared himself for the labours of his Archiepiscopal charge, and for the dangers to which his assumption of this dignity would necessarily expose him.

To prevent a recurrence of the tumults that had so often disgraced the city of Armagh, the holy bishop took up his residence without the walls, and applied himself in a most prudent manner to bring about a gradual reformation of the many abuses that prevailed, within the bounds of his spiritual jurisdiction.† Maurice Mac Donald lived two years, after the election of St. Malachy, and before his death proposed the succession of another kinsman, named Nigellus,‡ who eagerly grasped at the shadow of power enjoyed by the impenitent intruder.§ It would appear, from the account of St. Bernard, that the death of Maurice took place in a sudden manner, and that before his demise, he had not repented of those uncanonical proceedings, which tended to interrupt and distract the peace of the Church, and to prevent the restoration of order and tranquillity. But the king, bishops, and faithful assembled together, and supported the Archbishop, who was canonically elected. Power and authority being thus arrayed on the side of truth, St. Malachy entered the city of Armagh, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, being acknowledged Metropolitan Bishop of the northern city, and Primate of all Ireland ‖ The accession of our saint

* Having stated these words of our Saint, in yielding his reluctant assent to the honors thus conferred upon him, St. Bernard exclaims: "Nota, lector, virtutem viri, et animi puritatem, nec honorem scilicet affectantis, nec formidantis mortem pro Christi nomine. Quid hoc animo purius, quidve fortius, ut se exponens periculo et labori, alteri fructum cedat, ipsam in loco principatus securitatem et pacem! Facit hoc, cum liberum sibi ex pacto retinet reditum ad paupertatem, pace et libertate Ecclesiæ restituta."

† *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. X.* §§ 19, 20, 21, *pp.* 1482, 1483, 1484. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

‡ St. Bernard calls this usurper, "Nigellus quidam, imo vere nigerrimus."

§ "Colgan says, *(ib.)*" *scil. Tr. Th. p.* 304, "that Niell was son of the Aidus, who died in 1108, and who was a son of Dubdalethe III. Elsewhere, *(ib.)* owing to an omission of the press, Niell is called son of Dubdalethe. But *(ib. p.* 305,) Colgan makes him the son of the Aidus, son of Moeliosa; and O'Flaherty maintains (MS. *Note)* that this is the true reading of the Four Masters. If so, and if they were otherwise right, it will follow, that Niell was a brother of Celsus. (See, *chap.* XXV. § 12.) But St. Bernard either did not know this, or did not choose to mention it." *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI.* § *XIII. n.* 79, *pp.* 94, 95.

‖ *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. XII.* § 24. *p.* 1486. *Opera S. Bernardi, Tomus II.*

to this dignity is assigned to the year 1132, by the native annals,* and this date, also, accords with the statement previously made, of the probability of his birth, occurring in the year 1094. Under the year 1134, the same annals record a visitation made by Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair in Munster, where he obtained his tribute. But, this particular entry appears to have been misplaced, for it is afterwards repeated, under the same year, in a more circumstantial manner. We there read: "Niall, son of Aedh, was installed in the successorship of Patrick. A change of abbots at Ard-Macha, i. e. Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair in the place of Niall. Maelmaedhog afterwards made his visitation of Munster, and obtained his tribute.†"

I feel inclined to doubt the correctness of Dr. Lanigan's opinion, that St. Bernard, by stating the entrance of St. Malachy into Armagh, as Pontiff and Metropolitan of all Ireland, and in the thirty-eighth year of his age, could have meant, as a date for that occurrence, the latter end of the year 1134.‡ Although our saint, fearful of factious brawls and consequent bloodshed, resided without the city, for some time; and, although St. Bernard seems to intimate, that the usurper was defeated and driven out, before Malachy entered Armagh, and assumed the aforesaid dignity, I am satisfied, his biographer alludes to the date of 1132, in the narrative, thus agreeing with the native annals, which place his elevation to the see of Armagh, in the latter year. Dr. Lanigan, who incorrectly assigns the birth of our saint, to the year 1095, instead of to the previous year, supposes Malachy to have entered Armagh, after the death of Maurice, in the September of the year 1134, and that the saint had been consequently in the thirty-eighth, not having yet completed the thirty-ninth year of his age. But, after a careful consideration of St. Bernard's involved narrative, and the natural context, I am satisfied, that here, as elsewhere, the biographer of our saint anticipates the sequence of subsequent events, and refers to the third year, after the death of Celsus, for the period, when Malachy was in his thirty-eighth year, and when Gillibert and Malchus convoked the Bishops and Princes, who declared our saint Primate of all Ireland. And, thenceforward, although Malachy would not reside within his archiepiscopal city, he continued notwithstanding

* "The Age of Christ, 1132. Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair sat in the successorship of Patrick, at the request of the clergy of Ireland." *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters. Vol. II. pp.* 1040, 1041.

† See *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters. Vol. II. pp.* 1046, 1047, and *n.* (o) *Ibid.* Also, *pp.* 1048, 1049, *Ibid.* Dr. Lanigan, however, supposes, that the Four Masters were mistaken, as to this visitation. He adds: "St. Malachy had enough to do in that year, particularly considering his not being well seated until the late part of it, at Armagh, not to have time to go so soon to Munster, and I am inclined to think, that there was only one visitation, *viz.*, that of 1136." *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVII.* § 1, *n.* 1. *pp.* 102, 103. But, the reason for Dr. Lanigan's disbelief, in the statement of the native annals, is not sufficient to induce me to discredit it. The very circumstance of opposition and violence, on the part of the faction opposed to him, might have furnished the occasion of his visit to Munster; although it would appear, that this visit took place, after his entrance into the city of Armagh, and subsequently to the discomfiture of his enemies.

‡ See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI.* § *XIV.* and *nn.* 81, 82, *pp.* 95, 97.

the strenuous and zealous ministrations of the episcopal office, throughout his ecclesiastical province, from the year 1132. Nor was his title acknowledged without an opposition, which might be expected, from the desperation of an expiring faction. A certain powerful man resolved on the assassination of the holy Prelate, and was determined to murder, not only the Bishop, but his faithful protector, the King. With a band of desperadoes, he beset the place, where it was known the former was about to pass. Malachy, who had an intimation of this design, betook himself to the arms of prayer; Almighty God preserved him, in a most miraculous manner, and defeated the purpose of his enemies. The leader and his associates took their station, on a hill, which was near the city of Armagh, and which commanded a view of the surrounding country. Thence, they designed attacking the King and the holy Bishop, by a sudden assault; thus to prevent, by the blood of these innocent persons, any future opposition to their own impious designs. But their purposes were notified to Malachy, who entered a neighbouring church, where he raised his hands and heart to the Almighty, in humble and fervent prayer. Immediately, the day appeared to be converted into night; for clouds and darkness overspread the surrounding atmosphere. A tempestuous rain, thunder, lightnings and a storm of an unusual character, seemed to threaten death to all, who were exposed to this commotion of the elements. And, such was the efficacy of the prayers of our saint, that the tempest alone involved in darkness and destruction, those who were engaged in the designs of darkness and of diabolic murder. The leader of the band and three of his associates were struck with lightning, and those, who were allied in such wicked designs, were together consigned to an unexpected and unprovided death. On the day following, their bodies were found half consumed and putrid; their mangled remains clung to the branches of some trees that were near. Three others of the party were found living, but in a most precarious state; whilst the remainder of the band had been dispersed, in different directions. The fury of the tempest was not experienced by those that accompanied our saint; nor did it cause them to endure the least inconvenience, although they were quite convenient to the spot, which had proved so fatal to their enemies.* Truly, doth the prayer of the just man penetrate the heavens,† as may be instanced in the present miraculous interposition of Divine protection. As of old, whilst Egypt was totally oppressed by darkness, the people of Israel alone remained in light.‡ And, the power of the Almighty was thus manifested, in latter times, through his servant Malachy, as on former occasions, when the prophet Elias drew the clouds and rain from the most

* "According to the Annals of Innisfallen, at A. 1134, the conspirators were from Tulach-og, now Tullyhog in the barony of Dungannon, county of Tirone, and the transaction is thus stated: 'The Kineal Eogan (Tironians) of Tulach-og conspired against Maolmaodhog (Malachy) bishop of Armagh, and twelve of them were struck dead by lightning on the very spot, where they were forming the conspiracy against the holy man.'" *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. Chap. XXVI. § XIII. n.* 80. *p.* 95.

† *Eccl. XXXV.* 21.

‡ *Exod. X.* 23.

remote extremities of the earth,* and brought down fire from heaven,† on those who blasphemed the name of God.‡

Nigellus, being obliged to fly, took with him two of the most esteemed relics of the metropolitan church. A sort of superstitious belief, in the minds of the common people, seemed to be connected with these memorials, as it was generally imagined, that whoever retained them in possession, was the rightful inheritor of the see of Armagh. These relics were the book of Gospels, which belonged to St. Patrick,§ and the staff of Jesus, which it was currently believed had been presented by our Lord himself, to the Apostle of the Irish people. Having possession of those relics, Nigellus laboured with all his might to excite the aversion of the people towards the lawful Bishop, and to persist in his own unjust claims.‖ He even so far succeeded, as to drive the holy

* *III Kings.* XVIII., 45.

† *IV Kings.* 1, 10.

‡ *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. XI.* §§ 22, 23, *pp.* 1485, 1486. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

§ "The Book of Armagh, a MS. of the 7th century, on vellum, in Irish and Latin, contains a Life of St. Patrick, and his confession, or a sketch of his Life written by himself; also a Life of St. Martin of Tours; a copy of the Gospels, and other matters. This Book is mentioned by St. Bernard, in his Life of St. Malachy, archbishop of Armagh; it was, as a precious relic, preserved for ages in a silver shrine, which was lost; and in modern times it was contained in a case of leather, of elegant workmanship. This venerable Book was kept for many centuries in the family of Mac Moyre, near Armagh, who were specially appointed for its stewardship; but, about the year 1680, it was taken to London by Florence Mac Moyre, who being in great poverty, sold it for £5 to a Mr. Brownlow, and it is still in the possession of the Reverend Mr. Brownlow, of Dublin. An account of the Book of Armagh is given by Ware, Ussher, and Dr. O'Conor, and copious extracts from it have been translated and published in that learned work. the Irish Antiquarian Researches, by Sir William Betham." See, *The Annals of Ireland, translated from the Original Irish of the Four Masters, by Owen Connellan, Esq., &c., with annotations by Philip Mac Dermott, Esq., M.D., and the Translator. Note. p.* 582. If the foregoing account of the Book of Armagh, that it was a MS. of the seventh century be correct, and if according to the Annals of the Four Masters (see *O'Donovan's Edition. Vol.* 1. *pp.* 154 to 159) be correct, it cannot have been the "textum scilicet Evangeliorum, qui fuit beati Patricii," which is mentioned by St. Bernard, in his Life of St. Malachy. The learned will hail, with no small degree of interest, the expected publication of this celebrated MS., by one of the most painstaking and accomplished antiquarians Ireland has yet produced—the Rev. William Reeves.

‖ St. Bernard observes: "Nempe notissima sunt celeberrimaque in populis, atque in ea reverentia apud omnes, ut qui illa habere visus fuerit, ipsum habeat episcopum populus stultus et insipiens. Ibat homo gyrovagus, et alter Satanas circuibat terram, et perambulabat eam, insignia sacra circumferens: quæ ubique ostentans, ubique eorum gratia receptabatur, concilians sibi per hæc animos omnium, et a Malachia, quosque potuisset, avertens." Under the year 1135, we read in *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters,* that "Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair, successor of Patrick, purchased the Bachall-Isa, and took it from its cave on the seventh day of the month of July." *Vol. II. pp.* 1048, 1049. It would seem, that after the death of Maurice MacDonald, Nigellus, or Niall, as he is sometimes called, obtained forcible possession of this crozier of St. Patrick. Colgan has no notice of this purchase of the staff of Jesus by St. Malachy. It would seem, from the account in the *Annals of the Four Masters,* that Nigel, finding no other means left, for securing the unlawful possession of this precious relic, took the precaution of hiding it in a cave. It may be possible, that his straitened circumstances, during his exile, and the veneration entertained for the Bachall-Isa, by St. Malachy O'Morgair, induced the latter

Bishop from his see, and to take possession a second time.* Finding, at length, that public opinion, as well as the censures of the Church, had been directed against these proceedings, he resigned the insignia of the Archiepiscopal see, into the hands of St. Malachy.

After the installation of St. Malachy, as Archbishop, and when the King had restored the state of affairs to something like order, the latter returned to his own habitation. The Annals of the Four Masters state, that a visitation of Munster was made in the year 1136, by Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair, the successor of St. Patrick.† Before the King's departure from Armagh, however, he summoned to his presence one of the chieftains of the subjugated faction, who was known to offer the most violent opposition, to the entrance of the lawfully constituted Bishop. This man was compelled to swear, that he would observe the constitution, as established by the synod, and give hostages for his submission. But, no sooner had the king left, than the chieftain, unmindful of his solemn engagements, entered into a design with some of his friends and confederates to take the life of the holy Bishop. Fearing the indignation of the people, and aware of the love which they entertained towards the holy Archbishop, the chief would not dare to accomplish his death by open violence. A time and opportunity were however destined for the perpetration of a most sacriligious murder. On a certain day, while the Prelate, his clergy and a multitude of people, were engaged at solemn vespers, in the church, a message was received from the perjured chieftain, containing a request that St. Malachy would deign to honor him with a visit, at his own house, when and where all former differences should be explained and removed. But, the friends of the Archbishop, distrusting this pretence, told the messenger, that the church was the most appropriate place for effecting the reconciliation. The envoy, on the other hand, objected the fear of his master to enter the church, because popular feeling had been violently manifested towards him, on account of his difference with the Archbishop. Whilst these representations were making, on either side, the Bishop answered with intrepidity; "Permit me, dearest brethren, to follow the example of my Divine Master; for I am not a Christian, unless I follow Christ. Perhaps, I shall be

to consent to a proposal, which enabled him to obtain possession of this much prized object.

* "Neither can the silence of St. Bernard, as I have already remarked, be considered sufficient to settle the question, for though Dr. Lanigan deems such silence sufficient to overturn the assertions of Colgan, Ware, and Harris, in the case of the second usurpation of the Archbishop of Armagh, by Nigel in opposition to St. Malachy,—indeed St. Bernard goes even farther, and states that Nigel was obliged to remain quiet during the remainder of his life,—yet the fact of that usurpation is most clearly proved by the Irish annals." *Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland. Part II. Sec. 3, p.* 310. It must be remarked, that this second usurpation can be almost inferred, from the words of St. Bernard, before he records the final submission of the intruder. "Fuit vero consilium, præfatum schismaticum insequi, eo quod seducerat multos ex insignibus quæ ferebat, suadens omnibus episcopum se esse debere, et sic solicitus plebes adversus Malachiam, atque ecclesiæ dignitatem." *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. XII.* § 27.

† *O'Donovan's Edition. Vol.* II. *pp.* 1054, 1055. Under the same year, we read, that a change of abbots took place at Armagh, "Niall, son of Aedh, in place of Maelmaedhog." *Ibid.*

able to subdue the Prince, by my humility; but, if I do not, I shall at least triumph, in showing myself a pastor of my flock, and a priest of my people, as God requires at my hands. So far as I am personally concerned, I shall give you edification, by my example. What matters it, even if I should die? I do not desire to escape death, if you derive from me an example for living. The Prince of Bishops tells us, that it behoveth a bishop, not to domineer over his clergy, but to become a model for his flock. And can there be any more excellent model than that set us by the Saviour himself, by becoming obedient, even unto death? Oh! that it may be permitted me, to leave to my dearest children such an example, sealed with my blood. You shall discover, however, whether or not your High Priest has been trained in the school of Christ, when despising death for his sake."

Having heard these resolutions expressed, those who surrounded him gave vent to their tears and to their supplications, that in his eagerness to meet an almost certain death, he would not leave his church again widowed and desolate. No entreaty, however, could overcome the determination of the soldier of Christ; and, having placed all his trust in the Lord, he rose immediately, and set out accompanied by three of his disciples, who now resolved to share the common danger. Having reached the house of the Prince, and, shielded alone with the buckler of faith, he found himself surrounded by armed retainers. But, the calm intrepidity, displayed by the Archbishop, in the midst of his enemies, astonished those who had resolved on his destruction. The downcast looks and trembling hands of the armed executioners betrayed the emotions, excited in their minds; and, not the least remarkable circumstance, connected with this miraculous manifestation of the designs of God, consisted in the sudden change of purpose and remorse, that filled the breast of the chief instigator of the plot.* He embraced the magnanimous Prelate, and peace was from that time forward, firmly established between them. From being the Bishop's most inveterate enemy, the chieftain became his most devoted friend. With the Royal Psalmist the holy man might exclaim: "My enemies who trouble me are infirm and fall away." For, the signal which the chieftain had resolved at first to give, and which would prove a prelude to the death of the illustrious prelate, was afterward converted into those manifestations of regard, intended to confer every mark of respect, on the heroic confessor. The intended assassins offered the kiss of peace to the man, whose death they had not only imagined, but designed. Having escaped this meditated danger, the faithful, who were afterwards apprised of the circumstance, rejoiced greatly, at the preservation of the life of their truly Apostolic prelate; and, they returned thanks to the Almighty, because he likewise saved the souls of those ill-disposed men, whilst his servant at the

* There are similar examples on record, in the History of the Church. Thus might we instance, the fortitude of St. Ambrose, against the unjust opposition of Maximus; the conduct of St. Basil towards Valens; the undaunted presence of Leo the Great before Attila, "the scourge of God;" and the constancy of Chrysostom, when threatened by Gainas. See the *Rev. Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints. Vol. I. January* 27, *Vol. IV. April* 11, *Vol. VI. June* 14, *Vol. XII. December* 7., where the feasts of these several saints occur, and where their actions are recorded.

same time escaped their toils. The fear of the Lord fell upon the minds of all the people, since he had proved himself able to preserve our Saint, from the hands of the impious, and to take vengeance on the unjust man and the oppressor. And, whilst on a former occasion, the Almighty had been terribly avenged, on the bodies of unfortunate sinners, so in the present instance, by a merciful change of heart, he saved another miserable man from the consequence of his crimes, and thus fully vindicated his great attributes of justice and of mercy.

From this time forward, although the good Archbishop had reason to fear the designs of concealed enemies, yet none desired to molest him, in an open manner. The faithful citizens, however, surrounded their beloved pastor with an armed guard, day and night, being aware of the dangers to which he was exposed, and which they feared might yet beset him, at any moment.* But he, relying on the protection of Almighty God, set about the reformation of abuses, connected with the administration of his diocesan affairs; and arranged the disposal and order of all things, pertaining to his sacred ministry.† In the course of three years, from the time of his appointment, peace and order were entirely restored to the church of Armagh, and St. Malachy began to think of retiring from his charge, at a time, when most persons in his situation would be desirous of retaining it. During the whole course of his administration, Almighty God wrought many miracles, through his intercession, and to comfort his servant, amid labors and trials. A great plague, which broke out in Armagh, was arrested by his prayers; and a public procession of the clergy and the people took place, intended to deprecate the Divine judgment, which they supposed justly due to their city, on account of the many scandals that had there prevailed. In this procession, the relics of saints were carried through the public streets.‡ Some of the detractors of the holy bishop were punished, in a visible and extraordinary manner. A certain person, who was remarkable for his servility to chiefs and potentates, had acquired not a little consequence, in their estimation. He had even wormed himself into the favour of the king himself. This man was noted for his powers of persuasion, and, as may well be supposed, from these characteristics, he was not less remarkable for dissimulation. However, this may be, he was known to have been a warm partizan of the faction opposed to Malachy. Wherever he met the saint, but more especially, on the occurrence of public assemblies and celebrations, this man showed a studied disrespect to the holy bishop. He opposed the expressions and designs of Malachy, in his presence, and without reserve; and during his absence, the holy man's character was assailed by detraction. But, the wicked tongue that had been thus impiously employed, at length

* A similar incident is recorded in the acts of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, when the people undertook to guard him against the violence of the soldiers of the Emperor, Valentinian II. See, *Rev. Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints. Vol. XII. December* 7.

† *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XII.* §§ 24, 25, 26, 27. *pp.* 1486, 1487, 1488. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

‡ In the Benedictine edition of the works of St. Bernard we read, that this procession of the clergy and the people took place, "solemniter cum reliquiis sanctorum." For "reliquiis" we have another reading, "memoria," in the margin.

became swollen and mortified. It was literally devoured by worms, which loathsomely issued from the mouth of the blasphemer, for the seven days he continued suffering, under this frightful malady. At the end of that time, the wretched man expired; thus affording a dreadful example of Divine retribution to all those, who would dare to calumniate the irreproachable character of the saintly Archbishop.

Whilst, on a particular occasion, Malachy was engaged in preaching to the people, a certain unhappy woman, having no respect for his sacred office, or for the spirit which spoke through him, had the audacity to interrupt his discourse by impious outcries. Filled with the venom of Satan, the wretched woman poured forth contumelious blasphemies against the saint, calling him a hypocrite, and an unjust possessor of the rights of others, and insultingly referring to his baldness. But the saint, being of a mild and temperate disposition, made no reply to these reproaches; the Almighty, however, was pleased to to avenge the insult, by rendering his accuser insane. She frequently cried out, that she had been suffocated by Malachy, until her crime of blasphemy was expiated by her death.*

These examples wrought such a change in the minds of his most inveterate enemies, that they could not but consider him as the especial favorite of heaven, and raised by Almighty God to confound the disturbers of the public peace of the church. They could not but recognise the power of Heaven, arrayed on the side of their holy Archbishop, and their own impious designs rendered unavailing, and chastised in a visible and miraculous manner. In a short time, the power and influence of our saint's persecutors seemed to have passed away from the memory of man: their bond of wickedness suddenly dissolved, and their impiety and scandals gave place to the triumph of truth and justice. At the time St. Bernard wrote the life of our saint, the entire disappearance of that obstinate and perverse generation of sinners was reckoned a standing miracle, by all who had remembered their former pride and impious pretentions, against the spiritual authority of St. Malachy. It would be impossible, remarks St. Bernard, to relate in a worthy manner, all the great signs and wonders, whereby the Almighty was pleased to commemorate and glorify the name of his holy servant, and to comfort him, in the midst of his labours and perils. His illustrious friend and biographer, however, declares, that although he was not capable of thoroughly describing all of these miracles; nevertheless, he would not altogether pass them over in silence, but reserve them for a subsequent part of his biography, that the continuity of his narrative, regarding the ordinary actions of our great saint, might not be interrupted or obscured.† The moment of our saint's greatest triumph, was that of his retirement. Although, the people were unwilling to part with their beloved Archbishop, they nevertheless recollected the conditions, on which his charge had been assumed. Having selected Gelasius, as a successor every way worthy of the advancement which awaited him, he received consecration at the hands of St. Malachy.

* St. Bernard adds: "Sic misera assumens adversus Malachiam improperium Elisæi, vere illum sibi alterum experta est Elisæum."—See, *IV. Kings II.* 24.

† *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XIII.* §§ 28, 29, 30. *pp.* 1489, 1490. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

With a warm recommendation of the newly appointed pastor to his flock, and particularly to some of the most influential chiefs and princes of the country, St. Malachy resigned his pastoral charge in the year 1136, and retired to another diocese.* This retirement manifested his spirit of sincere humility, and true disinterestedness, in the discharge of the duties of his sacred ministry.†

CHAPTER VIII.

Separation of Down and Connor.—St. Malachy resigns the latter see, and retires to the former.—Resolves on a journey to Rome.—Obstacles in the way.—Proceeds to York.—Visits Clairvaux, and forms the acquaintance of St. Bernard.—Arrives at Rome.—Appointed Legate, and favorably received by Pope Innocent the Second.—Sets out from Rome for his own country.

At this time, the episcopal sees of Down and Connor were united, but they had formerly been distinct, each diocese being under the jurisdiction of its own bishop. Ambitious designs, on the part of a predecessor in one of these sees, had caused this union; but, when Malachy resigned the Primatial dignity, he resolved to separate Down from Connor, judging this division most conducive to the interests of religion. It might be supposed, that Malachy would have preferred the local attractions and associations of the city of Connor, which was the more noted and principal place, and particularly, as he had been appointed its former bishop. Yet, he resigned this see to the care of another prelate, whom he had consecrated as its bishop, and chose Down as the portion of his inheritance. This latter city was also famous, on account of its containing the tomb of St. Patrick, as all the ancient chronicles of Ireland testify, in opposition to the authority of St. Bernard, who states, that he was buried at Armagh.

In deciding upon the adoption of his present course of procedure, the zeal of St. Malachy for the interests of religion, in the Northern province of Ireland, was not less conspicuous, than were the purity of heart and singleness of purpose, which induced him to accept a portion of the vineyard, requiring renewed energies for its successful cultivation. He had resolved upon the acquisition of new and untried social connexions, whilst he was necessarily obliged to abandon, in a great measure, those ties of friendship that bound him to his former flock,

* At the year 1136, we read in *Mr. O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters. Vol. II. pp.* 1051, 1055. "Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair resigned the successorship of Patrick, for the sake of God." In Harris' Ware, this resignation of our saint is assigned to the year 1137, after his having spent three years in the archbishopric. Gelasius was his successor at Armagh. See, *Vol. I. Archbishops of Armagh, p.* 55. Ledwich has the hardihood to assert, that our saint "sat but three years in Armagh, being driven from thence by the old family." *Antiquities of Ireland, p.* 129. For this assertion, he advances no authority, as indeed he could not. The retirement of our saint at this period was purely voluntary.

† *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XIV.* § 31. *p.* 1490. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus. II.*

in the immediate locality of the city of Connor. How can we sufficiently estimate the sacrifices made by our saint, not merely in a renunciation of episcopal revenues; but in his separation from those endearments of a far more interesting nature, to souls endued with superior aspirations and sensibilities? Should not human ambition stand reproved, at this voluntary resignation of ecclesiastical rule, so adverse to the dictates of a worldly spirit, and so heroic, on the part of a saint, who was ever prepared for the endurance of still greater sacrifices?*

Having assumed the administration of the episcopacy of Down, Malachy felt himself inclined to put in practical operation the holy desires, which had occupied his mind, in the midst of those distractions which were inseparable from the fulfilment of his obligations, as Primate of the Irish Church. Again did he prepare himself for the spiritual combat, as a novice of Jesus Christ, and with a renewal of fervour, which showed the earnest purpose of his soul, in its aspirations for that perfect liberty, which according to the expression of the apostle St. Paul, reigns only in conjunction with the spirit of the Lord.†

The love of monastic discipline was so dear to our Saint, that he no sooner found himself at liberty to follow his former course of life, than he reverted to heavenly contemplation, conventual rule and poverty, humble and assiduous prayer. He established a house of regular canons;‡ and, many persons flocked thither, not only those of an humble and middle station in life, but even nobles and princes, in order to receive instruction, correction and rule from the holy founder. Yet absolute retirement, although it suited the inclinations, did not entirely comport with the office of Malachy; he frequently went forth, scattering the seeds of the gospel throughout his diocese, like the husbandman throughout his fields, and setting in order all matters apper-

* In the train of reflections made by St. Bernard, on this abnegation of our saint, he appositely remarks: "Ubi sunt, qui de terminis litigant, pro uno viculo perpetes ad invicem inimicitias exercentes? Nescio si quod genus hominum magis, quam istos, antiquum vaticinium tangat: *secuerunt prægnantes Galaad ad dilatandum terminos suos.*" See, *Amos, I.* 13.

† "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."—2 *Cor. III.* 17.

‡ "St. Bernard (*cap.* 13) calls the community formed by St. Malachy, simply *conventum regularium clericorum.* It is highly probable, that he gave them the rule of the canons regular of St. Augustine, who by this time were spread far and wide throughout various parts of Europe. But this is the first occasion I meet with of their being mentioned, as being in Ireland. Yet there might have been some of them a few years earlier at St. Peter and St. Paul's at Armagh, (compare with *Not.* 7) and Ware says, (see Not. 73 to Chap. XXVI.) that the abbey of St. Barr near Cork, founded about 1134, belonged to that order. But I much doubt, whether he found the members of this abbey called Augustine canons in any old document of those times. He was too much in the habit of giving the name of *Augustin canons*, or canons regular of St. Augustin, to our antient monks. Thus he makes even Bangor from its very foundation in the sixth century an abbey of Augustin canons. Hence it appears, that he was unacquainted with the true history and origin of these Canons, concerning which see *Notes* 133 and 134 to *Chap.* IV. I may here observe, by-the-bye, that Ware is wrong in assigning the original foundation of the monastery of St. Barr to about 1134. For it had existed since the seventh century, and whatever took place with regard to it in the twelfth, consisted merely in its having been re-established or re-founded, as Archdall (at *Cork*) justly states, and perhaps in some alteration of its rules." *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol. IV. chap. XXVII.* § 11, *n.* 13, *pp.* 106, 107.

taining to his church, with a zeal truly Apostolic. And there were none to question his authority, in the adoption of his present mode of living; for, the signs and wonders which he wrought, seemed to stamp his mission and cœnobitic manner of life, with the express approval of Heaven.* Being under some doubt, as to whether these his proceedings would obtain the sanction of the Roman see, he had resolved to set out for Rome, and represent all his acts to the Sovereign Pontiff. He had another object in view, which he kept concealed from his people, and even from his favorite disciples. Although the primacy of the Irish Church was vested in the Archiepiscopal see of Armagh, another metropolitan city, named Cashel, existed in the southern province.† It had been customary to invest the metropolitans of churches with the Pallium, as a mark of jurisdiction and distinction; but, this practice, which had prevailed in the principal churches of the continent, had been neglected, hitherto, with regard to the Irish Church.‡ This favor St. Malachy desired to obtain for the Archdioceses of Armagh and Cashel, on the occasion of his visit to Rome.§ As soon as the prepara-

* *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XIV.* §§ 31, 32. *pp.* 1490, 1491. *Opera S. Bernardi, Tomus II.*

† St. Bernard remarks, that Celsus had been the founder of the new archiepiscopal see, which, however, he had constituted dependant on that of Armagh, which enjoyed Primatial rule, whilst the Archbishop of the latter diocese exercised the duties and office of Primate of the entire Island.

‡ The discipline of the English Church appears to have been different. "The pallium was an ecclesiastical ornament, the use of which was exclusively reserved to the metropolitans. Its origin is involved in considerable obscurity; but at the period in which our ancestors were converted, no archbishop was permitted to perform the most important of his functions, till he had obtained it from the hands of the Pontiff. As soon as Augustine had received the episcopal consecration, he was careful to solicit this ornament from his patron, Gregory the Great; his example was religiously imitated by all succeeding metropolitans, both at Canterbury and York: and with the pallium they received a confirmation of the archiepiscopal dignity; whence, in the language of the Court of Rome, they were usually styled the envoys of the Holy See. Before the Primate could obtain this badge of his dignity, he was required to appear at Rome, and to answer the interrogations of the Pontiff: but Gregory and his immediate successors excused the Saxon metropolitans from so laborious a journey, and generally sent the pallium by the messengers who carried the news of their election." *Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church.*" *Chap. V.* § 3.

§ "Joceline among other fables of his concerning St. Patrick pretends, that he received the pallium at Rome. This nonsense has been sufficiently refuted already, *Chap. VII.* § *I.* and *ib. Not.* 2. Colgan, however, swallowed it, and has endeavoured in a really unlearned manner to support it, *Tr. Th. p.* 306. *seqq.* But I was surprised to find that M'Mahon, who lived in times when the origin and nature of the pallium, as granted to archbishops or bishops, were so universally known, could have undertaken to defend this silly paradox in various parts of his *Jus primatiale Armacanum*, particularly § 219 *seqq.* Surely he ought to have been aware, that in St. Patrick's days the pallium of which we are now treating, was not used in the Western Church even by the Popes themselves; and it is a very lame evasion to say, that, although it ceased to be sent to the archbishops of Armagh during the Danish troubles, yet they had received it in the first times of that church. Now St. Bernard writes; 'Metropoliticæ sedi deerat adhuc et *defuerat ab initio* pallii usus.' Here M'Mahon comes forward with a wretched quibble, distinguishing *ab initio* from *in initio*, as if St. Patrick's times were to be exempted from the general and plain assertion of St. Bernard. But why thus exempt them, whereas the pallium was not introduced into the Western Church until many years after St. Patrick's death? But, if M'Mahon argued badly on this point, Peter Talbot of

tions were made for his journey thither, great opposition was manifested by the people and clergy of the diocese to the departure of their beloved Bishop, judging that his absence would be of long continuance, and therefore intolerable to them. They feared, also, the dangers of navigation and travel, which were then matters of serious consideration.

Christian O'Morgair, Bishop of Clogher, and only brother to our Saint, died, and was buried at Armagh, under the great altar of the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul. His demise took place on the 12th of June, 1138.* He was said to have been only inferior to his brother

Dublin, against whom he wrote, was no less or rather more to blame for striving in his *Primatus Dubliniensis* to conclude from the want of the pallium, that therefore Armagh was not the primatial see of Ireland. Did he not know, that various gradations of ecclesiastical authority existed before the pallium was used, and that there have been hundreds of metropolitans, who never wore it? St. Ambrose of Milan, who received no pallium, enjoyed as much jurisdiction as if he had been decorated with twenty of them. Nothing is clearer from the whole tenor of our ecclesiastical history than that the see of Armagh was the only truly metropolitical one until Cashel was added to it, yet as subordinate. (See *Chap. XXV.* § 13.) St. Bernard is quite explicit on this subject, where mentioning an injunction of Celsus he says (*Vit. S. Mal. cap.* 7), 'Sancti Patricii auctoritate præcepit, cujus reverentia et honore tanquam apostoli illius gentis, qui totam patriam convertisset ad fidem, sedes illa, in qua et vivens præfuit et mortuus requiescit, in tanta ab initio *cunctis* veneratione habetur, ut non modo *episcopi et sacerdotes, et qui de clero sunt*, sed etiam regum ac principium universitas subjectas it metropolitano in omni obedientia (ecclesiastica), *et unus ipse omnibus præsit.*' Poor Ledwich took upon himself to meddle with this question (*Antiquities of Ireland, p.* 391,) where amidst lies and inconsistencies he quotes against the primacy of Armagh a passage from William Neubrigensis, who says, that 'the prime see of Ireland is said to be at Armagh in honor of St. Patrick,' &c. Is not this a proof of its having been so? But, he argues, the words, *is said*, show that William knew nothing of Armagh but from report. Be it so; for he was an Englishman. Does it follow, that the report was false? What think of a scribbler, who pretends, that St. Patrick was not heard of at Armagh until the 9th century, when introduced by the Danes?" *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol. IV. chap. XXVII.* § *III. n.* 25. *pp.* 110, 111.

* "The Age of Christ, 1138. Gillachrist Ua Morgair, Bishop of Clochar, a paragon in wisdom and piety; a brilliant lamp that enlightened the laity and clergy by preaching and good deeds; a faithful and diligent servant of the church in general, died, and was interred in the church of Peter and Paul at Ard-Macha." *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. II. pp.* 1058, 1059. In Harris' Ware, we read: "I find it remarked in the Registry of Clogher, 'That his Brother *Malachy* obtained from Pope *Innocent* the IId. that the fourth part of the Tithes, or the Episcopal part through all *Ergall*, should be allotted to the Bishops of *Clogher*.' [The Reader may see the History of these Quarter-Episcopals under the Life of *Edward Synge*, now Archbishop of Tuam.] *Christian* died on the 12th of *June*, 1139, or, as some say, 1138, during the Life of his brother *Malachy*." *Vol. I. Bishops of Clogher, p.* 180. Dr. Lanigan remarks, that Ware, although he found our saint's death noted down at 1138, yet thought that in reality it should be set down under 1139. He also adds, that at the times then treated of, there was no necessity for adding a year to those of the Irish annals. See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol. IV. chap. XXVII.* § *II. n.* 14. *p.* 107. But, Dr. Lanigan himself makes the same mistake, in many of his dates, by the excess of a year, where there was no occasion for so doing. In the year 1139, we find the death of Niall, son of Aedh, son of Maelisa, who had usurped the see of Armagh, and who is called Nigellus, by St. Bernard. Notwithstanding the unfavourable character drawn of him, by the latter, the native annals relate that he "died after intense penance." See, *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. II. pp.* 1062, 1063. The grandfather of Niall, named Maelisa, was abbot or archbishop of Armagh, from 1065 to 1092. He was also the son of Amhalghaidh, who was archbishop of Armagh, from 1021

in fame, having been his equal in sanctity and zeal. St. Bernard remarks, that he was a good man, full of virtues and of grace. The fortuitous circumstance of his death seemed to increase the fear of the people, lest their Bishop also might be called away from earth to enjoy the reward of his labors. They declared that on no account would they yield their consent to the voyage of Malachy, lest the world might be deprived of the services of two such pillars of the Church, and at the same conjuncture. Malachy threatened them with the Divine displeasure, if, as seemed probable, they would attempt to thwart his designs, by an appeal to physical force. But their opposition was now more violent than ever; and, moved by a superstitous notion, that the will of God would be made known by their drawing lots to determine the event, notwithstanding his objections to this proceeding, it was tried, and the chance was favorable to Malachy's intentions. This single issue would not satisfy the proposers; it was repeated, even a third time, with the like result. But, before the departure of Malachy, he was desirous to provide a worthy successor for the vacant see of Clogher. Calling together three of his disciples, he remained a long time in suspense, to determine which of them might prove most useful in the Church, and most worthy of the office. He at length named Edan O'Kelly, one of the number, as the intended bishop. Whilst his reluctance to assume the pastoral charge was expressed by tears, St. Malachy thus urged him: "Fear not," he said, "for the Lord has already designed you for this rank, as I already see on your finger the golden ring, by which you become a spouse." This announcement induced consent; and he being consecrated by our Saint, the latter immediately set out on his journey. Whilst preparing for his distant voyage, the tears and lamentations of his people continued to the moment of his departure from amongst them, and proved what a firm hold he retained on their affections. Although it was hoped, that his absence would only be temporary, the reluctant consent of his flock, on taking leave of their holy Bishop, serves to explain the nature of those happy relations, that must have prevailed between the Pastor and his people, and the glorious result of those missionary services, which tended to unite in mutual love and affection an apostolic shepherd of the Church, with the flock entrusted to his spiritual guidance.

Before his departure for Rome, our saint appears to have founded a Priory of Regular Canons, at Downpatrick. This foundation is stated to have taken place, in the year, 1138; the priory having been dedicated, in honor of St. Thomas.* The monastery founded by St. Patrick,

to 1050. *Ibid. n.* (6). St Bernard states, that the whole of this generation had become extinct, within a short time after the violence exhibited by them, towards St. Malachy.

* See, *Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum, p.* 117. For this statement, Archdall refers to Ware's Mon. This Priory was afterwards "granted to Gerald, Earl of Kildare." *Cobbett's History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland, Vol. II. County Down.* Archdall thus enumerates the particulars of this grant: "The site and precincts of this priory, with the appurtenances, and eight acres of land within the said site; a whole carucate of balliboe in Croknegrange, alias Grangshecum; a carucate in Ballindugge; the quarter called Rinryazuffe, the quarter of Hianamaster, alias the Master's Island; a carucate in Ballybogan, and a balliboe in Ballisdogan were granted to Gerald Earl of Kildare." We are told, also, that "the

it is said, as early as 432, at Saul, was repaired by Malachy O'Morgair in the twelfth century.* Although the precise date of its re-edification is not recorded, we are told, that it had been rebuilt with stone, by our saint, whilst he was bishop of Down.† It is stated, in our native annals, that St. Malachy had appointed a Convent of religious monks with their abbot at Sabhall-Phadraig, now Saul, in the barony of Lecale, and County of Down. In the year 1170, these monks were expelled from this monastery, and their cows, horses, sheep, books and ecclesiastical furniture, with everything they had collected from the time of our saint, were plundered, at the instigation of a monk expelled by the abbot and community of brethren at Drogheda, in consequence of a crime committed by him.‡

Malachy, on his way to Rome, directed his course to the city of York, where he made a short stay. St. Bernard relates a few instances, connected with his visit to this city, which he most probably heard from the relation of Malachy, or from some of his companions, and which are sufficiently interesting to be worthy of notice. A holy priest, named Sycar, who was gifted with the spirit of prophecy, had often predicted to his companions, that an illustrious bishop from Ireland, would visit them, and he had even a revelation regarding the personal appearance and features of our Saint. On his arrival, although the Saint and the Holy Priest, who announced his approach, had never before seen each other, the latter recognised the Bishop, and pointed him out to his companions, as the Irishman of whom he spoke. "This is the holy Prelate," said Sycar, "that I predicted should come to us from Ireland, and who also knows the secret thoughts of men." Thus, the heavenly light, that interiously illuminated the soul of Malachy, must of necessity be revealed to men; for, through the words of Sycar, the Holy Spirit deigned to manifest the graces, which were showered by Heaven upon our Saint. Sycar told the Bishop many things that personally concerned himself, and the band of disciples that journeyed with him, and these secrets were supposed, hitherto, to have been buried in profound secrecy. Although the companions of St. Malachy earnestly desired his own and their return to Ireland, Sycar assured them, that very few of their number would be able to escort their beloved superior, to their native country. On hearing this announcement, they supposed Sycar meant that they should be called away from this world, before the return of St. Malachy. The event corresponded with the predic-

Franciscan friary and the monasteries of St. Patrick, St. John, and St. Thomas in Down, were all granted in capite to Gerald Earl of Kildare and Mabell his wife, and to their heirs, free of all rent;" besides other ecclesiastical possessions enumerated by Archdall. See, *Monasticon Hibernicum, pp.* 117, 557. On referring to *Harris' Ware, Vol.* 11. *Antiquities of Ireland, chap. XXXVIII. p.* 265, it is stated, that an Irish Priory, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was founded, at Down, by St. Malachy O'Morgair, in 1138. According to Archdall, this foundation was "called the Priory of the English," being founded by Sir John De Courcey in the twelfth century, for cross-bearers following the rule of St. Augustine. See *Monasticon Hibernicum, p.* 117. In *Harris' Ware* there is no mention of our saint having founded a monastery, in honor of St. Thomas, at Down.

* See, *Harris' Ware, Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland, chap. XXXVIII, p.* 265.

† *Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum, p.* 128. *Ware's Mon.*

‡ *Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum, p.* 125.

tion, although not in the manner anticipated by these disciples; for, some of them remained with St. Bernard, in the monastery of Clairvaux, and others were dispersed in other places, so that few, in fine, revisited their former homes.

At the time of Malachy's arrival in York, he became acquainted with a certain holy man, who, illustrious by birth, had renounced the world, and devoted himself to a religious life, being then the Prior of Kyrkenham, and superior of a community of regular brothers. This Prior, who was named Wallenus, was superior of the monastery of Melrose,* at the time St. Bernard wrote his life of our Saint. To the prayers of our Saint this Prior most humbly recommended himself. The poverty of Malachy and his company may be inferred, from the fact, that they only possessed three horses, on arriving at York; and these animals were too few in number to accommodate the bishop, with the five

* The name of Mail-ross signifies, in the Celtic language, *a naked promontory* or *neck of land*. An abbey was founded here, as early as the commencement of the seventh century. The venerable Bede, in his life of St. Cuthbert, assures us, that this abbey had been a place of celebrity, in the year 664, when Cuthbert was chosen Prior. The location occupied by the first building is named Old Melrose, and is situated two miles east of the present village and ruins of Melrose, on the Tweed. No trace of the first establishment remains, except the fragments of a rock, by which it had been surrounded.

In the year 1136, St. David I., King of Scotland, founded a magnificent abbey at Melrose, the ruins of which yet remain, in a tolerable state of preservation. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, in 1146, and was the first house of the Cistercian order established in Scotland. The monks of this order were supplied from the Abbey of Rivaulx in Yorkshire. The beautiful description, given by Sir Walter Scott of the present appearance of the ruins, must be familiar to the admirers of English poetry; and, since its publication, Melrose has been the frequent resort of tourists.

"If thou would'st view fair Melrose aright,
Go visit it by the pale moonlight;
For the gay beams of lightsome day
Gild, but to flout, the ruins gray.
When the broken arches are black in night,
And each shafted oriel glimmers white;
When the cold light's uncertain shower
Streams on the ruin'd central tower;
When buttress and buttress, alternately,
Seem framed of ebon and ivory;
When silver edges the imagery,
And the scrolls that teach thee to live and die;
When distant Tweed is heard to rave,
And the owlet to hoot o'er the dead man's grave,
Then go—but go alone the while—
Then view St. David's ruin'd pile;
And, home returning, soothly swear
Was never scene so sad and fair."

Lay of the Last Minstrel, Canto II.

In Mr. Hutchinson's *View of Northumberland*, an admirable account of the abbey and of its historic incidents is given. The "Chronicle of Melrose," compiled by the monks, and which gives an accurate chronological relation of Scottish events, from 735 to 1270, has been preserved, and published by Mr. Gale, in the first volume of his *Rerum Anglicanum Scriptores*. In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, there is an impression, in red sealing wax, and a corresponding cast, in flint glass, of a large seal belonging to the Monastery of Melros, of the date A. D. 1422. It contains the figure of an abbot or bishop, with a pastoral staff, and another of the Virgin and Child, above it, in distinct niches.

priests, and the other clerics and servants, that belonged to his train. Wallenus, who was in possession of a horse, but of a restive turn and uneasy gait, made an offer of the animal to Malachy, telling him at the same time, that if he would be pleased to accept the gift, he was at liberty to take him whithersoever he wished. He expressed sorrow, that a better animal could not be placed at his service. "And I," said the Bishop, "receive him the more willingly, as you seem to set a small value on his performances; for, nothing can be worthless, in my estimation, when accompanied by a manifest token of such kind affection." Then turning to his attendants, he said, "Prepare this beast for my journey; for it will be sufficiently suitable for my use, and will bear me for a long time." Having mounted to proceed on his journey, he at first felt some inconvenience, but after a little use, the animal, on which he rode, travelled with much greater ease, and became perfectly manageable. As a token of affection borne by him to his friend Wallenus, St. Malachy kept this horse during the remainder of his life, which lasted for nine years subsequent to this occurrence; and, from being of a very dark color, at first, the age attained by the animal afterwards, caused it to become perfectly white.*

The famous Abbey of Clairvaux† in Champeigne, had attained considerable reputation, about the time of the journey of St. Malachy, being then presided over by its illustrious founder, St. Bernard.‡ As it lay, almost on the direct line of his journey to Rome, St. Malachy could not omit such an opportunity of being witness to the admirable regulations established by his future friend, for the guidance of his

* *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, Cap. XV.* §§ 33, 34, 35, 36. *pp.* 1491, 1492, 1493. *Opera S. Bernardi, Tomus II.*

† It was built in the year 1115, in the Diocese of Langres, in the midst of the wild desert, which belonged to Hugh, Earl of Troyes, who set apart for the establishment of a house of the Cistercian Order, a place named at the time, the *Valley of Wormwood,* and after the establishment of St. Bernard's colony, *The Happy Valley.* Clara-vallis, or, in French, Clairvaux, received its rule from the parent house established by St. Robert, Abbot of Molesm, at Cistercium or Citeaux, in the year 1098. From the name of the place, at which the first house was built, derives also the designation of the Cistercian order. "The Cistercian Order within fifty years after its institution consisted of no less than five hundred Abbeys; which number was increased to eighteen hundred soon after the year 1200. The famous houses of Sept Fons and La Trappe are branches of this order." *Gahan's History of the Church of Christ, chap. XXVIII. p.* 257.

‡ In a Latin poem of the Monk Philotheus, entitled, *De Vita et Moribus Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Clara-Vallencis, Carmen Encomaisticon, Cap. III.*, the following lines occur:—

Cum Deus ipse pio disponens omnia nutu,
Bernardum ex humili jussit abire loco.
Nomine clara quidem, sed clarior nomine Vallis,
Consita vicina sub regione fuit.
Missus in hanc sacras referens Pater optimus artes,
Condidit imperio claustra regenda suo.

See, *Patrilogiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV. col.* 557. The author of the poem, already quoted, appears to have been a monk of Clairvaux; but, it is not known, whether the name Philotheus was a real or an assumed one.

spiritual children.* This appears, however, to have been only a passing visit; but, from the first moment of their acquaintance, to the separation caused by the death of our Saint, a firm and tender friendship was established, between St. Malachy and St. Bernard. The indissoluble nature of this friendship is best expressed, by the words of St. Bernard himself, when relating the incident of our Saint's first visit to Clairvaux. St. Bernard seems to consider it, as a special source of comfort and delight, not only to himself, but to his whole religious community, that the felicity of our Saint's presence and pious conversation had been vouchsafed to them, in their retirement. With the spiritual riches of Malachy's conversation, their souls were refreshed; and, the holy Abbot of Clairvaux humbly declares, that although a sinner, he had the inexpressible gratification of discovering that he found favour in the sight of the Irish Bishop, on the occasion of this his first visit to their community, and that he had been able to preserve this friendship unimpaired, even to the period of our Saint's death. With a sort of holy satisfaction, the Abbot remarks, that Malachy was moved to compunction, during his stay at Clairvaux, on seeing the monks of that establishment, and that they, in turn, were not less edified by his deportment and discourse. On the departure of Malachy, with much feeling and religious affection, he bestowed his blessing on the community and its founder. Having passed the Alps, he came to Iporia, a city of Italy, where he healed a child, on the point of death, and who was son of the person, at whose house he lodged.

Innocent the Second was Sovereign Pontiff, at the time of Malachy's arrival at Rome, where the Saint remained an entire month, visiting all the holy places, and offering up his prayers, at all the principal shrines. The Pope received him with the greatest kindness and hospitality, and showed him every attention, after his long and fatiguing journey. From the moment the saintly Bishop had left Clairvaux,† the impression, made on his mind by the exercises he had witnessed, in this happy retreat, induced him to petition the Pontiff for leave to retire from his episcopal charge, and to assume the religious habit under St. Bernard. But Innocent, rightly judging that the Irish Church could not then afford to lose such an ornament, refused his assent. Malachy wished to live and die at Clairvaux, not so much from motives of human friendship and local attachment, as from his desire to learn

* It would seem, according to the monk Gaufrid, who was the secretary of St. Bernard, that amongst other places enumerated, the fame of this holy Abbot's sanctity was spread "apud soles occiduos Hibernorum." See. *Patrilogiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV. S. Bernardi Vita Prima. Lib. III. Auctore Gaufrido. cap. VII.* § 22. *col.* 316.

† Nicholas Hacqueville, who is described as "Sacri Senatus Parisiensis Præses æquissimus," wrote a Latin poem, entitled, *De laudibus S. Bernardi, et situ Clarevallis.* The opening lines afford a description of the local features of the scenery at Clairvaux, and run as follows :—

Abdita vallis erat, mediis in montibus alto
Et nemore et viridi tunc adoperta rubo
Hanc Claram-Vallem merito dixere priores,
Mutarunt nomen, Vallis amara, tuum.

perfection from the greatest master, and at the most excellent school, with which he was then acquainted. The desire of ending his days at Clairvaux was alone gratified.

Whilst he remained at Rome, Pope Innocent held frequent conferences with him regarding Ireland, the habits and manners of the people, the state of religion in the country, and what measures had been proposed and executed by his honored guest, for the removal of scandals and abuses. Whatever actions humility induced the Saint to conceal, where he was personally concerned, were made known by his companions. St. Malachy petitioned his Holiness, for a confirmation of the new Metropolitan see, and besought him to confer the pallium on the two Archbishops.* The constitution of the see of Cashel into an Archbishopric, was immediately granted; but, more time was taken in order to judge of the expediency of conferring the pallium on both of the Irish metropolitans. The Pope counseled Malachy to convoke a general Synod, on his return, to which the bishops, clergy and princes of the island were to be summoned; he assured the saint, that by universal approval and request on their part, through worthy messengers, this honor should be sought first, and would then be accorded.† Heretofore, Gillibert, Bishop of Limerick, already broken down with age and infirmities, and who then exercised the Legative authority in Ireland, had petitioned the Holy See, for a removal of his burthen, to some other successor, more capable of sustaining it.‡ His resignation

Quem licet umbrosi circumdent undique montes,
Nulla tamen toto clarior orbe fuit.
Hanc Alba irriguus mediam perlabitur amnis,
Fons tibi perpetuo munere donat aquam.

See the *Patrilogiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. VI. col.* 565.

* Ledwich says, that "Malachy solicited the Pall for his see, from Pope Innocent II., but this his holiness declined, for the Irish clergy were as yet very far from yielding obedience to the Roman Vice-deity; the Pall, so far from commanding respect, might have subjected the wearer to insult." *Antiquities of Ireland, p.* 129. This incorrect writer has not adverted to the fact, that Malachy did not come to Rome, in order to obtain the pallium for his own see, which was that of Down; but, for the see of Armagh, which was then governed by Gelasius, the Primate. The reader may allow his other crude theory to pass for what it is worth, for it does not merit a grave refutation.

† "The Pope's object was to show, that the quantity of palliums should be considered as a great favour, and that the obtaining of them required more than the request of any individual bishop. The rule, requiring that every Archbishop should be invested with the pallium, was not as yet established. In what passed between the Pope and St. Malachy on this occasion there is not the most distant allusion to the strange story of the Saint's reason for wishing to get palls for Ireland having been to get rid of the claims of Canterbury." *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVII.* § *IV. n.* 29, *p.* 113. The "strange story," referred to by Dr. Lanigan, was a statement made by Dr. Milner, that the Irish prelates and St. Malachy in particular, earnestly solicited the court of Rome to send palls to the Church of Ireland, in token of her immediate dependance on the see apostolic, as the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being had claimed a legative jurisdiction over Ireland, ever since the time of St. Augustine.

‡ Dr. Lanigan considers this Gillebert to have been abbot of Bangor, at one time. See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXV.* §. *IX.* and *n.* 57.

was now accepted, and when St. Malachy was about to depart from Rome, he was named Apostolic Legate for all Ireland.* Innocent, removing the mitre, which he wore, from his own head, placed it on that of Malachy; and, even the stole and maniple, which he was accustomed to use himself, in celebrating the Holy Sacrifice, were both presented to his favored Legate. Having imparted the apostolic benedicion, with the apostolic sanction, to all that had been done, before his departure, the Pontiff gave him the kiss of peace, and took an affectionate leave, when he set out from the eternal city.†

It is stated, on the authority of the *Register of Clogher*, that before the departure of St. Malachy from Rome, he obtained from the Pope, a grant of the fourth part of the ecclesiastical property or dues, throughout all Ergall or Oriel, for the Bishops of Clogher, which see was situated in that territory.‡ But, it is not likely, that the Saint who retained no fixed income for himself, asked for a favor of this king, Besides, St. Bernard makes no mention of such a circumstance, althoudh he alludes to both Christian O'Morgair and Edan O'Kelly, Bishops of that see. We may, therefore, consider this statement, as unworthy of credence; or, at least, as not sufficiently substantiated, to warrant its acceptance, without a considerable degree of hesitancy.

CHAPTER IX.

St Malachy revisits Clairvaux on his return.—Passes over to Scotland.—Arrives in Ireland.—Character and Legation of the holy Bishop.—Writes to St. Bernard, and receives letters from him in return.—St. Bernard sends his religious to Ireland.—Foundation of Mellifont Abbey.

On the return of St. Malachy to his native country, he again revisited his beloved Clairvaux, and a second time bestowed his benediction on

pp. 23, 25. Yet, in another passage, he says, that if it be true, that Gillebert had been abbot of Bangor, before he became bishop of Limerick, he must have been one of those persons who held the lands of the abbey, and used to be called abbots, being elected to that sinecure situation, and corresponding to the dignitary called by the French, *Abbé Commèndataire. Ibid. Chap. XXVI.* § *IX.* and *n.* 63. *pp.* 77 to 79.

* Baronius refers the visit of Malachy to Rome, to the year 1137. Pagius, his commentator, with his usual accuracy, has detected the error of the date, and asserts that Malachy arrived at Rome, in the year 1139 or 1140. *Pagius apud Baronium ad An.* 1137. § *XX.* in notes. St. Malachy remained "mensem integrum" at Rome, according to St. Bernard.

† *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. cap. XVI.* §§ 37, 38. *pp.* 1493, 1494. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

‡ See, *Harris' Ware. Vol. I. Bishops of Clogher. p.* 180. I am informed, by the Rev. Dr. Reeves late of Ballymena, that the valuable record, entitled, the *Register of Clogher*, is now lost; or, at least, that all the enquiries he has made regarding it, have resulted in a disappointed hope of being enabled to discover, where it is to be found, if now extant. We will see hereafter, that Archbishop Ussher had access to t, in his day.

the holy Abbot and his Cistercian brethren. With heartfelt sorrow, he informed St. Bernard of the refusal of the Sovereign Pontiff to comply with the prayer of his petition, to be permitted to pass the remainder of his days in the Happy Valley. But he singled out four of his travelling companions, and recommended them to the care of St. Bernard, with the following request: "I most earnestly conjure you," said he, "to retain those disciples, and instruct them in all the duties and observances of a religious profession, that hereafter they may be able to teach us." He added also this prediction: "They shall become for us a seed; and nations, which, although long hearing of the name of monk, never yet saw one, shall be blessed in this seed."*

* Alluding to our Saint, Ledwich observes, that "in 1140, he introduced the Cistercian Order into this kingdom, by the advice and under the directions of St. Bernard, and settled it at Mellifont, Newry, Bective, Boyle, Baltinglas, Nenagh, and Cashel. St. Bernard prided himself much on these foundations; "the oldest man," says he, "might have heard the name of monk, but before the days of Malachy, never saw one." This, like much of Congan's information to him, wants veracity. Malchus, a monk, was made bishop of Waterford in 1095; Samuel, bishop of Dublin, ejected monks from that city in 1110; and Donat, a monk, was made bishop of Dublin; evidences these, with others too numerous to recite, sufficient to convict our mellifluous doctor of misrepresentation, and to evince how trifling the most serious considerations were, when put in competition with the holiness and honour of his favourite order." *Antiquities of Ireland, p.* 129. But, in the foregoing sentences, Ledwich manifests his usual characteristics of ignorance and misrepresentation; for, in a note, on a particular passage there, he garbles the following extract from an epistle of St. Bernard to St. Malachy: "Et quoniam multa adhuc opus est vigilantia (tanquam in loco novo, et in terra jam insueta, immo et inexperta monasticæ religionis:)" &c. He omits the first portion of the sentence, which leads to the inference, that St. Bernard only alluded to a particular locality, and that he did not mean the whole of Ireland. This particular spot appears to have been Mellifont, where the Cistercian order was first established in Ireland, and in which place there had been no previous monastic foundation. St. Bernard could not have meant that all Ireland had been without monks previous to the origin of that establishment; for, he had stated in his life of our Saint, that there were many monasteries and monks in the country, in antient times. But, it is more difficult to divine the meaning of St. Malachy, regarding the *nations that had not yet seen a monk.* Perhaps, he meant *nations different from Ireland, in which the order of Clairvaux would be yet established;* or, perchance he alluded to some parts of Ireland, in which there had been no former monastic establishments, or from which these, if established, had long disappeared, but in which, communities of the Cistercian order would thenceforth be founded. Yet, with respect to what Ledwich states, regarding the introduction of the Cistercian order into Ireland in 1140, and the places where it had been established, he is altogether incorrect. For, according to the best authorities preceding his time, he might have discovered, that the first house of the order was not established, at Mellifont, until 1142. See *Ussher's Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, n. p.* 149. *Harris' Ware, Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland, chap. XXXVIII. p.* 275. *Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum, p.* 479. There was no Cistercian establishment, at Cashel, until about the year 1270, over 120 years after the death of St. Malachy. Its establishment is said to have been owing to a curious circumstance, recorded in *Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum, p.* 648. In *Harris' Ware, Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland. chap. XXVIII. p.* 275, this establishment, at Hore Abbey, near Cashel, is assigned to the year 1172, evidently a typographical error for 1272. At Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary, there never was a Cistercian house. Ledwich confounded it, with Nenay, in the county of Limerick, when a house of Cistercians was founded, after the death of our Saint, in the year 1151, according to *Harris' Ware, Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland, chap. XXXVIII. p.* 275. According to the same authority, *(Ibid.)* the house of Cistercians, at Newry, was founded in 1157, after the death of our Saint; although, Ussher attributes its erection to St. Malachy, about the year

St. Bernard willingly complied with this request of his friend; the postulants were received, and in due time professed. And after the return of Malachy to Ireland, some interval of time having elapsed, the Saint sent other postulants, who remained under instruction for a considerable period, until they had acquired that proficiency in wisdom, which enabled them to proceed in the career, for which they were destined. Having appointed the holy brother Christian, as their superior, he being selected from amongst them, by St. Bernard, together with some other monks of Clairvaux, joined to their body, a number sufficient for the establishment of an abbey was afterwards sent to Ireland.* St. Malachy took leave of Clairvaux, and proceeded to Scotland, where he made a short delay, before he returned to his native country.

On his arrival in Scotland, he paid a visit to the Court of King David, where he was received with the most distinguished marks of honor. At this time, Prince Henry, son of the king, lay at the point of death.† The faith of the Scottish monarch was directed to the prayers of his guest, which he begged him to offer up for the recovery of the Prince. The holy bishop complied with his entreaty. Having sprinkled the youth with holy water, regarding him with a fixed look, he said, "Have courage, my son, you shall not die this time." The event justified the prediction; on the following day, the health of the young prince was completely restored, and the public rejoicing of his father and of the whole court followed this unexpected recovery.‡ The joy, consequent on this event, was generally manifested by the people, and for a double reason: in the first place, on account of the restored health of a young man of much promise; and secondly, because his recovery had been the result of miraculous interposition. It would be needless to add, that the gratitude, both of father and son, was ever afterwards manifested, towards our Saint, until the death of Malachy took place. They besought him to make a longer delay, in Scotland, than he at first intended; but, duty calling St. Malachy to the affairs of his diocese, he would not consent to remain, and immediately proceeded on his homeward journey. On his way, he passed through a town named Crugeld,§ where he met a mute girl. On praying

1144. See, *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, n. p.* 149. There were only six Cistercian houses in Ireland, at the time St. Bernard wrote the life of St. Malachy; and, yet, Ledwich enumerates seven, before the death of the latter saint, and all of his own foundation.

* *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XVI.* § 39. *pp.* 1494, 1495. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

† "Et invenit David regem, qui adhuc hodie superest, in quodam castello suo: cujus filius infirmabatur ad mortem." Buchanan makes this David the ninety first King of Scotland. He reigned, from the year 1124 to the year 1153. He was a remarkably just and religious prince, and a munificent patron of churches and monasteries. See his character and reign treated with a peculiar bias, in *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia. Lib. VII. pp.* 203 to 308.

‡ St. Bernard says: "Henricus est iste: nam vivit adhuc unicus patris sui, miles fortis et prudens, patrizans, ut aiunt, in sectando justitiam et amorem viri." Of this prince, Matthew of Westminster speaks, where he mentions under the year 1148, "Henricus primogenitus, a rege Scotorum David armis decoratur in Pentecoste." *Flores Historiarum, Lib. II. p.* 40. Henry did not live to succeed his father David.

§ *Crugeld* is supposed to be identical with the present *Crugelton*, in the parish of Sorby, Wigtonshire, Scotland. In a letter of Mr. John Nicholson, dated Kirkcud-

for her recovery, the string of her tongue was loosed and she spoke without difficulty. Afterwards, he passed through a village, in which a church dedicated to St. Michael had been built. Here, an insane woman, bound with ropes, was brought before him; and, in the presence of all the people, she was miraculously restored to the exercise of her faculties, through the intervention of the Saint. He thence proceeded to the port of Laperasper,* where he experienced a delay of a few days, before a vessel was ready to sail. During this period, the Saint did not remain unemployed; he constructed an oratory of hurdles,† according to the manner of those times, and surrounding it with a trench, by way of enclosure, the intervening space was blessed, and set apart for the purposes of a cemetery.‡ We are also informed,

bright, Nov. 27th, 1858, addressed to Mr. Hanna, of Downpatrick, it is said, that the ruins of an old castle and a burial ground are yet to be seen there. This locality is not far removed from Whitehorn, (*Candida Casa*, in Latin), at which latter place, the shrine of St. Ninian was preserved, in one of the most celebrated religious houses of Scotland. Mr. Nicholson suggests the possibility of St. Malachy O'Morgair having paid a visit to this shrine, during his stay in Scotland; and Mr. Hanna observes, in a letter, dated Downpatrick, 4th Feb., 1859, that the Saint having probably gone to Whitehorn, then paid some passing visit to the old church of Crugelton. In the Appendix to Nicholson's *History of Galloway*, Simson, who wrote in 1684, is quoted to show, that in his day, Crugelton, lying towards the sea, had a ruinous church, and had been at one time a small parish, before it had been incorporated with the parish of Sorbie. Before that time, also, there had been a very strong house, called the Castle of Crugelton, situated upon a high cliff, on the sea-side. It had been demolished and ruinous, at the period mentioned, and then belonged to Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw. Crugelton lies on the South-eastern shore of Wigtonshire.

* "Perveniens vero ad portum Laperasperi," &c. To Mr. Hanna, of Downpatrick, I am indebted for the information that enables me to identify the place in question. That gentleman having written to Mr. John Nicholson, the publisher of the *History of Galloway*, received from the latter a communication, dated Kircudbright, Nov. 27th, 1858. The following is an extract from Mr. Nicholson's letter: "*Laperasperi* is evidently a Latinized form of *Rough Stones*, and would be some port on the west coast of Wigtonshire, facing Ireland. It should from the name be in Stoneykirk (Parish); very probably, it would have been Cairngarroch, where a small stream flows into the sea, widening at its mouth. The site of Cairngaroch will be found marked in the position already described on the Map of Wigtonshire, which illustrates Mr. Nicholson's *History of Galloway*. In a letter from Mr. Hanna—enclosing that received from Mr. Nicholson—the former gentleman coincides in opinion with the suggestion, that Cairngaroch, about four miles S.W. of Portpatrick, was the *Laperasper* of St. Bernard. He adds: "Cairn-garroch, a very slight change from Carriggarvagh,—the Irish form of *Laperasperi*, is exactly opposite the coast of Ards, in the County of Down, the most likely place for St. Malachy to steer. I have no doubt it is the right place." It is needless to state, that I am perfectly of accord with both these gentlemen, especially after instituting a careful examination of the map of Wigtonshire, already mentioned.

† "A sort of wattle work, or combination of twigs or prepared wood and earth or clay, was a common mode of building among the Gael both of Albin and Erin, and was known as the 'Scottish fashion.'" *Logan's Scottish Gael, chap VIII. p.* 255. "A church, constructed of like materials, was erected at Glastonbury, and called, by way of distinction, 'Ealde Chirche,' that is, 'the old church,' of wattle work at first; it savored somewhat of heavenly sanctity even from its very foundation, and exhaled it over the whole country; claiming superior reverence, though the structure was mean." William of Malmesbury's *Chronicle of the Kings of England. Book I., chap. II. p.* 22. *Translation.*

‡ St. Bernard, speaking of this erection, says: "Construitur interim de virgis in sæpem textis oratorium, ipso jubente, ipso operante pariter."

that the miracles which our Saint wrought, at this place, and those which occurred there, up to the period when St. Bernard wrote his life, established popular belief, in the extraordinary merits and sanctity of the illustrious consecrator.*

After embarkation, a prosperous voyage conducted St. Malachy to his native shores. Before his landing in Ireland, the rumor of his expected arrival there had preceded him; and the people earnestly desired to behold once more their beloved spiritual father, after his long and toilsome journey, both by land and sea. He immediately proceeded to the monastery of Bangor, where his spiritual children received him, with unbounded joy.† But, the report of his arrival, being circulated without the walls of the establishment, the people of all the neighboring cities, castles and villages set out in crowds, to welcome him, on his safe return. He was received with great honor, wherever he proceeded, in the exercise of his legative authority. Councils were convoked by him, in many places; and in these, excellent decrees were passed, to awaken the zeal of the clergy, and to renew ecclesiastical customs and regulations, that had become obsolete. Besides these approved laws, derived from tradition and antiquity, new ones were promulgated and committed to writing; they were received and observed as edicts, emanating from a source of undoubted authority. Ecclesiastical conferences were held, in many places; and the saint resolved, that no district, nor even the most remote subdivision of a district, should be deprived of the fruit and utility of his Apostlic legation. He spread the seed of the word, throughout his several parishes, and the trumpet of salvation announced the efficacy of his preaching. Neither sex, nor age, neither rank nor profession, was exempt from the solicitude of this energetic pastor. His labours and travels were unremitting. Evil doers trembled in his presence, because his eloquent and forcible invectives resounded constantly in their ears. In the words of the Psalmist, he cried out to the unjust, that they should cease from the works of injustice; and to delinquents, "Lift not up the horn."‡ His eyes were continually bent upon the

* "Inde est, quod de finitimis locis infirmos et male habentes illo portare consueverunt, et sanantur multi. Mulier totis dissolutis membris, plaustro vecta illuc, pedibus suis remeavit domum, una duntaxat nocte non frustra in loco sancto præstolata misericordiam Domini. Alia quædam ibidem pernoctabat in oratione quam forte reperiens solam homo barbarus, accensus libidine, et sui minime compos, irruit rabiosus in eam. Conversa illa, et tremefacte, suspiciens advertit hominem plenum diabolico spiritu: 'Heus tu,' inquit, 'miser, quid agis? Considera ubi es, reserve hæc sancta, defer Deo, defer servo ejus, Malachiæ, parce et tibi ipsi.' Non destitit ille, furiis agitatus iniquis. * * * * Quid plura? Terrefactus resilit homo, et datis saltibus, festinus oratorio exsilit. Ille confusus abscessit, et illa intacta remansit, magno quidem et Dei miraculo, et merito Malachiæ. Et pulchre operi fœdo et abominando fœdum intervenit et abominabile monstrum. Non prorsus aliter decuit bestialem extingui libidinem, quam per frigidissimum vermem: nec aliter temerarium frenari ausum, frustrari conatum, quam per vilem, inutilemque bestiolam. Et hæc loco isto sufficiant pauca de pluribus: nunc jam reliqua prosequamur." *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XVII.* §§ 40, 41. *pp.* 1495, 1496. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

† According to the Annals of Innisfallen, the arrival of St. Malachy, in Ireland, took place, in 1140.

‡ *Psalms* LXXIV. 5.

flocks, committed to his care, and their particular necessities ever engrossed his attention. His people looked upon him, as a missioner, specially sent them by Divine appointment; and, the miracles he wrought, on so many occasions, gave a supernatural sanction to his labors and ordinances. He founded religious institutions, and extended the utility of those already established. It would be utterly impossible, to enumerate all his actions and virtues; but, humility was ever predominant in the thoughts and actions of this extraordinary man. Religion was propagated in all quarters, and continued to flourish under the regulations of this Apostolic Legate.*

Although invested with great authority, by virtue of his office, the mode of living and habits of the holy Bishop formed a remarkable contrast, with those of others, exalted to a like station. St. Bernard thus institutes the comparison. Whilst other legates were accustomed to domineer, over the clergy; St. Malachy, although independent, in his own province, was the servant of all over whom he exercised jurisdiction. Whilst they preached the gospel, as a means of support; Malachy, like the apostle St. Paul, sustained himself, for the sole purpose of laboring in the ministry. Whilst religion became to them, a means of procuring wealth, and the honors of the world; Malachy was only solicitous to impose labors and trials on himself, in its promotion. Others place their enjoyment in the extent of their possessions; Malachy derived pleasure from diffusing charity, amongst all men. They take care to store their granaries, that selfish ends may be gratified; Malachy garnered, with solicitude and in seclusion, the treasures of heaven. Whilst some drain the perishable treasures of this life, from the purses of those, subject to their spiritual rule; our Saint loaded the altars, with prayers and immaculate oblations, to procure the remission of sins, and to shower down upon sinners the riches of Divine Grace. Like a true successor of the Apostles, our Saint divides with his brethren, in the church, the small earthly gains of his ministry, and the incomparably greater rewards of a spiritual character. Other prelates, when receiving tithes, first fruits, oblations, tributes and benefices, are solicitous about what they shall eat and drink; but Malachy, possessing none of these things, nevertheless, enriched many, from the treasury of faith. No bounds are set to their cares and desires; Malachy, desirous of no earthly possession, thought not on the morrow. They demand from the poor, what they bestow on the rich; he demands from the rich, what would be necessary, for the sustenance of the poor. They erect lofty walls, towns and palaces; Malachy, not knowing whereon to recline his head, nevertheless, prosecutes the work of the gospel. They despise the poor, he gives them instruction: and, whilst they honor tyrants and princes, he punishes the vices of such sinners, by the infliction of ecclesiastical censures. Whilst other Legates are accompanied, by a large train, with servants and horses, and receive gratuitous and sumptuous entertainment, wherever they proceed; our Saint went on foot, surrounded by a band of holy brethren, to break the bread of life to those who eagerly

* *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap.* XVIII. § 42. *pp.* 1496, 1497. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

hungered for it. Are we, therefore, to wonder at the extraordinary results of his preaching and ministry, when so many apostolic virtues shone in the life of this holy man? Is it surprising, that he should be distinguished, for the performance of so many miracles, when his whole course of conduct might be characterized, as a continual miracle? The Almighty, the worker of miracles,* according to the expression of the Psalmist, operated wonders through our Saint. A pliant instrument in the hands of God, the fire of Divine Grace glowed in the soul of Malachy, with a burning and a shining light.

Such was the character of the holy man; and his habits of living were in perfect accordance. From the first moment of his conversion, to the latest period of his life, the spirit of voluntary poverty, never for a moment departed, from the mind of this Apostolic bishop. He possessed neither house nor property of his own; and his table was always served with the plainest food. He had neither man nor woman servants, towns or villas; he enjoyed, neither secular nor ecclesiastical returns, nor benefices. Always assuming the laborer to be worthy of his hire,† he went on foot, through all his parishes, preaching the Gospel, and living by the Gospel, as the Lord ordained. When setting out on these missions, he was usually escorted by some of his brethren; and neither by his garments nor by his manner of living could he be distinguished, amongst them. It frequently happened, that he was obliged to draw upon his own private resources, in order to render advantageous his labours on the mission. He endeavoured, always, to render his sustenance, and that of the clergy who laboured with him, as little onerous as possible, to the flock of Christ. Thus did he desire, on all occasions, to avoid the reproaches of the evil-minded, lest the Gospel itself might prove a stumbling block, to the conversion of hardened sinners. He had ordained or decreed nothing to be provided, in the shape of pecuniary revenue, to enable him to maintain the episcopal mensal:‡ so that, in the possession of this world's goods, the

* "Thou art the God that dost wonders." *Psalms* LXXVI. 15.

† "For the labourer is worthy of his hire." *Luke* X. 7.

‡ "What is here said of St. Malachy not having had any fixed mensal income, or, as St. Bernard expresses it, that nothing was assigned for the episcopal *mensa*, on which the bishop might live, cannot mean, that there was no property really belonging to the see of Down, but that St. Malachy, who delighted in poverty, did not choose to exact the mensal portion from the erenachs and corbes, who had got the church lands into their possession and management. (See *Not.* 63 to *chap.* XXVI.) In like manner he refused (*ib.* § 9.) to accept of the lands, that had belonged to the monastery of Bangor, and allowed them to be enjoyed by a corbe. Even while archbishop of Armagh he possessed no property peculiar to himself; for St. Bernard states, (*ib.*) that from the first day of his conversion until his death, he lived without any thing of his own, *sine proprio vixit.* Now it is certain, that there was property, and that considerable, annexed to the see of Armagh; otherwise how could the usurping family have been so eager to keep hold of it, or why should Maurice and then Niell or Nigellus, have seized upon it after the death of Celsus? But whatever share was due to the bishop personally, St. Malachy gave it up; yet it cannot be supposed, that the rents or dues necessary for the expenses of the cathedral, the support of the officiating clergy, the repairs of churches, &c. were not exacted. All that St. Malachy could or would do was to resign his own peculiar portion, which he probably ordered to be assigned to the stock intended for the poor." *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVII.* § *V. n.* 36. *pp.* 116, 117.

holy Bishop was poor indeed. When practicable, it was always the desire of the pious Bishop to rest in those religious houses, which were then common throughout Ireland, and to partake of the hospitality there afforded. He would by no means suffer the inmates, to depart from their usual habits and observances, on his account: and, nothing gave him more sincere pleasure, than to be permitted to join in their ordinary exercises, and to sit at the common table.*

St. Malachy had not been long in Ireland, after his return from Rome, when he selected suitable persons to proceed to Clairvaux, in order to be instructed in the rules of the Cistercian institute. As a testimonial of esteem and affection for St. Bernard, he sent also by these messengers a staff, which he requested him to use, as a support under his infirmities, and as suitable for his declining years. All these requirements of our Saint were duly acknowledged, by his friend; and in an epistle addressed to St. Malachy, immediately after the arrival of the postulants from Ireland, the writer tells him, that the reception of his letter, with the accompanying gift, was dear to him, on account of the assurances of sincere regard, thereby afforded. St. Malachy had requested two of the brethren left behind, to be sent back to their native country, to make preparations for the introduction of the Cistercian institute, in his province. His friend, however, assures him, that in his opinion and in that of his brethren, it would be better to defer the departure of these monks, and not separate them from their companions, until they should be better established in the practice of a religious life, and thoroughly instructed, in the school of the Holy Spirit. He recommends the selection of a suitable place, for the new foundation, and one which should be removed from the tumults of the world. He concludes this epistle, by reminding our Saint, of the double office, with which he was invested, and tells him, to apply himself to the onerous duties of the episcopacy and of the Apostolic Legation; at the same time, commending himself to the prayers of his friend, with the assurance, that Malachy was not forgotten, in the petitions offered up by himself, before the throne of Divine grace.

The following translation of this epistle is here presented, with the preceding address : " To the venerable Lord and holy father Malachy, by the Grace of God, Archbishop† of the Irish, and Legate of the Apostolic see, brother Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, to obtain the favor of the Almighty.

" 1. Amidst the many cares and anxieties of soul, the number of which greatly disturbs my mind, the brothers who have come from a distant land to serve the Lord, your letter, and the staff, have afforded

* *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XIX.* §§ 43, 44. *pp.* 1497, 1498, 1499. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

† " Usserius hanc epistolam inter Hibernicas refert, ubi contra Joannem Picardum observat, Armachanos antistites ante pallii usum, qui nonnisi anno 1150 ipsis concessus est, dictos fuisse archiepiscopos, atque metropolitani potestate usos. Usserium in primis movet archiepiscopi nomen in Malachia, qui ante aliquot annos relicto archiepiscopatu, Dunensis episcopatus' administrationem susceperat, Vitæ capite 14. Sed archiepiscopi nomen ob pristinam dignitatem ei tribuere potuit Bernardus : qui tamen in sequentibus episcopum tantum vocat." *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus I. Lectiones Variantes et Notæ fusiores, pp.* 941, 942.

consolation to me: the letter, as furnishing evidence of your good opinion, the staff, as a support for the infirmities of my body, and the brethren, who serve God, in the spirit of humility. We have received all these: all of them please us, and all equally co-operate, towards a good result. But, although you have desired, that two of the brethren should be sent to you, to see the place;* however, having submitted this counsel to the brothers, we have thought it preferable, that they should not be separated from the others, until the Christian spirit should be formed, more perfectly, within them, and until they be fully instructed, in the spiritual combats of the Lord. Wherefore, when they shall have been taught in the school of the Holy Ghost, and thoroughly imbued with grace, from on high; then only, let the children return to their father, that they may sing the canticles of the Lord, no longer in a strange land, but in their own country.

" 2. Meanwhile, according to the wisdom bestowed on you, by the Almighty, select and prepare a place for their reception, which shall be secluded from the tumults of the world, and after the model of those localities, which you have seen, when amongst us. For the time approaches, in which, through the operation of Divine Grace, we shall be able to produce new men for you, from the old man. Let the name of the Almighty be blessed for ever more, as through his bounty, it happens, that in common with you I may claim children, planted by your preaching, and watered by my exhortation. But, God giveth the increase. We entreat your reverence, that you preach the word of the Lord, to spread the knowledge of salvation, amongst the people. The double necessity, arising from the office of Legate, and the duties of the Episcopacy, urges you to exertion. For the rest, since 'in many things we all offend,'† and being brought frequently into contact, with men of the world, we contract much of the dust of this earth; I commend myself to your prayers, and to those of your people, that the source of piety, Christ Jesus himself, who said to Peter, 'Unless I wash thee, thou shalt have no part with me,'‡ may deign to lave and cleanse us, in the fountain of his mercy. But this petition, I not only ask, by entreaty, but even demand, as a debt; for, if the prayer of a sinner is of any avail, I also supplicate the Almighty, in behalf of you. In the Lord, farewell." According to the Benedictine editors of the works of St. Bernard, this epistle of the abbot of Clairvaux to our Saint, was written about the year 1140.§

* " Id est situm Melli-Fontis monasterii, anno 1141 conditi in diœcesi Armachana, præfecto Melli-fonti abbate Christiano, de quo in epistola nunc 357, n. 3. De hoc monasterio in Actis S. Malachiæ et S. Bernardi, et in epistola 254, apud Chesnium tomo 4." *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus I. Lectiones Variantes et Notæ fusiores. p.* 942.

† *James* III. 2.

‡ *John XIII.* 8.

§ See *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus I. Sancti Bernardi Epistola CCCXLI.* §§ 1, 2, *pp.* 633, 634, 635. In *n.* (c.) the editors observe: " Alias epistola 315: quæ vero antea 341 erat, nunc 385." This epistle is also to be found amongst those contained in *Ussher's Veterum Epistolorum Hibernicarum Sylloge, Epistola XLII. pp.* 102, 103, and in those is also assigned to the year 1140 But Dr. Lanigan is of opinion, that it must have been written, at a later period, and very probably, in the year 1141. For, Ussher, had supposed, that St. Malachy visited Clairvaux, in 1137. *(Ibid n.*

The newly arrived postulants were associated with their countrymen, who were left in France, by St. Malachy, and received into the Cistercian order. After some time, being instructed in the rules and discipline of Clairvaux, a number of French brothers were sent with them to Ireland, to establish there a branch of the parent house. Christian, brother to Malchus, so miraculously healed by our Saint, was one of the number, and was appointed superior of these monks, by St. Bernard. Letters were directed to St. Malachy, and delivered by these messengers, when they arrived in Ireland.* In these letters, St. Bernard complains of the insufficient length of time afforded him, to instruct and direct them, as he would wish, and of the small number he could send, to establish the Order, in Ireland. But he hopes, as in the seed of Abraham, a numerous people was produced, that from this insignificant number should also proceed a numerous body of religous, to extend their Order, throughout the length and breadth of the land. These epistles are contained in the Benedictine edition of the works of St. Bernard. They are here translated, in the order of their position. "To Malachy, by the Grace of God, Bishop and Legate of the Apostolic see, brother Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, if the prayer of the sinner avail, and if the devotion of the poor man be acceptable.

"We have done as your reverence hath commanded, and if our work be not accomplished, in a proper manner, at least, we have performed it so far as the time allowed rendered possible. So much hath malice prevailed, on every occasion, with us, that scarcely was it permitted us to effect the little, that has been achieved. We have sent the little seed which you see, to sow even a small part of that land, in which the true Isaac formerly went forth to meditate, when Rebecca was first brought by the boy to Abraham, to be happily joined in perpetual wedlock.† Nor is the seed to be despised, from which, in these times, we have found that fulfilled, in your fathers, 'Unless the Lord of Sabaoth hath left us seed, we should have been as Sodom and Gomorrha.'‡ Wherefore, I have sown, do you water, and God will give the increase. Through you, we humbly salute those holy men, who are with you, meekly commending ourselves to your and to their prayers. Farewell!"§

According to the prediction of St. Malachy,‖ on taking leave of

p. 148.) In this date, he was certainly mistaken. Dr. Lanigan thinks, that as St. Malachy returned to Ireland, in 1140, after having lately left the four brethren, at Clairvaux; it is not likely, he could have wished for the return of two of them, within the same year. See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVIII.* § *V. n.* 38. *p.* 117.

* Epistolæ CCCLVI, CCCLVII. *Opera Sancti Bernardi, Editio Benedictina.*

† *Genesis* XXIV.

‡ *Isaias* I, 9.

§ See, *Sancti Bernardi Epistola CCCLVI. p.* 652. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus I.* In the marginal note, affixed by the Benedictine editors, to this epistle, they say that it was written in the year of Christ 1141. Concerning it, they remark: "Alias epistola 316: quæ vero antea 356 erat, nunc 369." *n.* (b.) *Ibid.* And again: "Et hanc epistolam inter Hibernicas ordine 43 Usserius refert, ubi multa de Melli-Fonte aliisque ejusdem provinciæ Cisterciensibus Monasteriis notat." *n.* (c.) *Ibid.*

‖ *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. cap. XVI.* § 39. *pp.* 1494, 1495. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

Clairvaux, the little community was destined to spread the fame of the Cistercian institute in the new country: before the death of St. Bernard, he had the satisfaction of hearing, that no less than five houses, or daughters, as he calls them, of the parent house, had been established, in various parts of Ireland.*

The foregoing epistle, which according to the Benedictine editors of the works of St. Bernard, was written in the year 1141, was followed by another, in the year succeeding. It was addressed by the saintly abbot of Clairvaux, to his dear friend, St. Malachy, and was couched in the following terms:—

"The child of your holiness, brother Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, to his most beloved father and reverend Lord, Malachy, by the Grace of God, Bishop and Legate of the Holy and Apostolic See, greeting, with his unworthy prayers.

"1. My paternal Lord, how sweet are thy words to my mouth! how pleasing the memory of thy holiness! The charity of your love, doubtless, vindicates for you, all the affection and the devotion that exist in our soul. Nor is there a necessity for multiplying words, where affection so greatly prevails. I am confident, that the spirit, which thou hast from God, affords testimony to your understanding of my own nothingness. Likewise, dearly beloved and most venerable father, be mindful of the soul of a poor man, clinging to thee, with the bonds of charity; and, forget not, in fine, the soul of thy dependant. Nor, do we commend ourselves to you, for the first time, when we rejoice in the Lord, that for a long time past, our lowliness hath found favour in the eyes of thy holiness; but, we entreat thee, that the old love may gain strength and increase, each day of our lives. In so much, as our children and thine are farther removed from our care, the more earnestly do we commend them to thee. You know, that next to God, all our confidence was, that we should send them to you, as it seemed meet to acquiesce in the supplications of your holiness. Do that, which

* It is said that the rule of the Cistercian Order had been received, in Ireland, as early as the year 1139, at the Abbey of St. Mary's, which was located near the present site of Capel-street, in the city of Dublin. The charters, and a list of the Abbots of this house, are yet preserved in the Chandos and Cotonian libraries. This Abbey is said to have been built for Benedictine monks, as early as the year 848, by Melaghlin, king of Ireland, and Cillemohhloa, according to the Annals of the Abbey.

The five principal houses of the Cistercian Order, in Ireland, spoken of by St. Bernard, were the following: First, the Abbey of Mellifont, of which a notice is given, in the text. Secondly, the Abbey of Bective, on the River Boyne, the erection of which is variously referred to the dates 1146, 1148 and 1151. Thirdly, the Abbey of Baltinglass, on the river Slaney, founded by Dermod MacMorough, in 1148 or 1151. Fourthly, the Abbey of Shruel in the county of Mayo, founded by O'Farrell, in 1150. Fifthly, the Abbey of Nenay, in the county of Limerick, endowed by O'Brien, in the year 1148. Besides these principal Cistercian houses, there were others founded at Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, at Newry, Ardfert, Dunbrody, &c. *Abbé MacGeoghegan's Histoire d'Irlande. Part II. chap. VII. Sir James Ware's Lib. de Not. Abbatia. Ord. Cister. Allemand's Histoire Monastique d'Irlande. Passim.* "In the course of ten years before the English invasion," says O'Daly, "besides innumerable oratories repaired and restored, as is evident from Ware and other writers, there were not less than twenty four grand abbacies of the Cistercian Order founded and erected." *History of the Geraldines. Preface, p.* 14. *Rev. C. P. Meehan's Translation.*

is expected of you, by embracing and cherishing them, with the whole bowels of your charity. Let no occasion weaken the care and solicitude manifested by you, towards them; nor, let what thy right hand planted, ever perish.

"2. And now, indeed, we have learned both from your letters, and from the relation of our brothers, that our community has progressed, and that it has multiplied, as well, in a temporal, as in a spiritual manner. Wherefore, we have much cause for gratulation, and with our whole souls, we give thanks to God, and to the solicitude of your paternal care. And, since there is yet need of much vigilance, as they are in a new place, and in a land, not accustomed to, and even devoid of, the monastic institute; we beseech you, in the name of the Lord, that you will not withhold your assistance, but perfectly conclude the labour, you have so well commenced. It would have pleased us well, if our brothers, who have returned from that place, had remained. And, perchance, they would have afforded occasions to those, who are natives of the land, and not yet sufficiently instructed, in our practices, to conform to them, by counsels, which would be a guide to those deficient in experience.

"3. We send back to you, your dearly beloved son and ours, Christian, as fully instructed, as was possible, in those rules which regard our Order, hoping, moreover, that he will henceforth prove solicitous, regarding their observance. And, wonder not, that more brothers were not sent with him; since, we neither found suitable persons, who would easily agree to this course, nor did we deem it proper to force those, who were unwilling to depart. Our dearly beloved brother, Robert,* like a truly obedient son, hath also complied with our wishes, on this occasion. It will be your province, to assist him, that he may be able to promote the interests of your family, both by building, and in all other necessary works. We also suggest to your paternity, that so far as practicable, you would persuade religious men, and those you hope will prove useful to the monastery, to enter their Order, since this will prove of great service to the community, and they will the more easily acquiesce in your counsels. Wishing your holiness health, be always mindful of us, in Christ."†

At the solicitation of St. Malachy, Donough O'Carroll, Prince of Oirgiallach, (the present county of Louth constituting a part of this extensive territory), commenced an establishment, in 1142,‡ at a place

* The Benedictine editors of the works of St. Bernard ask. "Quis iste Robertus? an Robertus ille vir sanctus, a Serlone laudatus in Historia Fontanensi, Monastici Anglicani tomo 1, pagg. 743 et 749, monachus quondam Witebiensis, sociatus monachis de cœnobio Eboracensi egressis, de quibus supra ad epistolam 95 et sequentes? an Robertus, Bernardi consanguineus, ad quem epistola 1?" *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus I. Lectiones Variantes et Notæ Fusiores, p.* 942.

† See, *Sancti Bernardi Epistola CCCLVII.* §§ 1, 2, 3, *pp.* 653, 654. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus I. n.* (a.) *Ibid.* The Benedictine editors observe: "Alias epistola 317: quæ vero antea 357 erat, nunc 370."

‡ *Sir James Ware's Lib. de Notit. Abbatia Ordin. Cister. Harris' Ware. Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland. Chap. XXXVIII. p.* 275. Fleury, who supposes the visit of St. Malachy to Rome, to have occurred in the year 1139, says, that two years afterwards, his brethren returned to Ireland, well instructed in their religious noviceship. He adds: "En 1141. St. Bernard les renvoya, avec quelquesuns des siens, fonder dans

called Mellifont, about four miles from Drogheda, for the reception of the Cistercian Colony.* The ruins of this Abbey are yet visible, and especially those of the celebrated chapel of St. Bernard, one of the most beautiful remains of the early Gothic style of the thirteenth century. This latter building is supposed to have been erected by the monks sent from Clairvaux, and was no doubt the principal oratory of the Abbey. Thus, the anxious desire of St. Malachy was at length accomplished; and, under his fostering care and patronage, his spiritual children, prepared to second his designs for the advancement of religion, throughout the island. That the abbey of Mellifont was the parent establishment of the subsequent affiliated Cistercian houses, in Ireland, appears from St. Malachy speaking of the brethren, he left at Clairvaux, as the persons, who were destined to introduce the Order of Cistercians, into our Island; and, also, from the fact of St. Bernard representing the community under Christian, which was that located at Mellifont, as the first foundation, which produced the other houses of the Order, in this country.†

le diocese d'Armac l'abbaye de Mellifont, qui en produisit cinq autres dans la suite." *Histoire Ecclesiastique. Livre. LXVIII.* § *LIX.* The Annals of St. Mary's Abbey, quoted by Ussher, in his *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, n. p.* 149, date the foundation of Mellifont, at the year 1142. It was the first Cistercian house, established in Ireland. "Therefore what Ware has, *(ib.* at *Dublin),* and which he took from the annals of Mary's Abbey, *viz.* that this abbey adopted the Cistercian rule in 1139, in imitation of the abbot of Savonac or Savigni in France, cannot be true; whereas there were no Cistercians in Ireland until three years after that date. Besides, the abbey of Savigny was not Cistercian itself until 1148." *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVII.* § *VI. n.* 41. *p.* 119.

* For a description, history and engravings of the ruins of Mellifont Abbey, see the *Dublin Penny Journal* of 1832, *Vol. I. numbers* 19, 22, 32. A writer, in the latter number, of much antiquarian taste and knowledge, derives the appellation of the place, from the Latin word, Mellifons, signifying, "Fountain of Honey." But Ussher derives the name of this place, from St. Mel, bishop of Ardagh, and disciple of St. Patrick. See, *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, n. p.* 151. Mr. Petrie, on whose authority, as found in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, the statement given in the text is founded, seems to retract his opinion, in the *Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland. Part II. sec.* 3. *p.* 188. *Second Edition.* With the company sent to Ireland, in 1142, by St Bernard, was brother Robert, who seems to have been versed in building, from the recommendations contained in the letter. *(Epistola CCCLVII.)* We are inclined to think, however, that an erection of wood preceded that of stone, at Mellifont, from the following record of the death of Donough O'Carrol, A.D. 1170, Antiphorarium in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, quoted by Mr. Petrie *(p.* 394.) *Ussher Collection of MSS. Class B. Tab.* 1. *No.* 1. "It was this great king who founded the entire monastery both (as to) stone and wood, and gave territory and land to it, for the prosperity of his soul, in honor of (SS.) Paul and Peter." *Translation.*

† Ussher remarks: "*Illa reliquarum mater Abbatia Mellifontis fuit in Armachanâ diœcesi posita: de cujus extructione (quinquennio post Hibernienses monachos in Claravalle relictos factâ) in Annalibus a Thomâ Casœo editis ita legimus. Anno* 1142. fundatur abbatia Mellifontis, Donato rege Urgalliæ terras et possessiones donante, Malachiâ Episcopo procurante, ad quam regendam Bernardus abbas Clarevallensis misit conventum de illis quos Malachias in Clare-valle ad addiscendum ordinem reliquerat, et postea miserat: dato eis in patrem fratre Christiano. *Hinc, circa annum* 1144, *propagatum est cœnobium Nevoracense,* de viridi ligno *appellatum, et ab ipso Malachiâ episcopo fundatum. Deinde anno* 1146, *XIV. Januar. apud Midenses,* Lieltrede, *Latinis* de Beatitudine, *vulgo* Bective *dictum ac demum anno* 1148. *XVI. Augusti,* Buellium *in Tuamensi diœcesi,* Boyle *hodie vocitatem. Atque has tres filias, viventi Malachiâ enixa est Mellifontis abbatia: quibus, Bernardo adhuc superstite, circa*

In accordance with the recommendation of St. Bernard, St. Malachy appears to have selected a most secluded situation, for the first Irish Cistercian establishment at Mellifont. The monastic buildings were erected on the banks of a winding stream, called the Mattock, that flows into the river Boyne, passing for a considerable part of its course, through deep glens and beneath hills of moderate elevation. The present ruins are enclosed between the high grounds rising over them, on every side; and, it would seem, that bricks had been used, in the construction of the walls of the old monastic erection.* As these materials are not observed, I believe, in any of the other ruins, so thickly scattered over the surface of our Island;† it might not, perhaps, be an improbable conjecture, that they had been made by, or under the direction of, the French monks sent by St. Bernard to Ireland, especially, as we know that from an early period, bricks were commonly used, in the buildings of France. Be this as it may, no position could be selected, for the first Irish Cistercian house, more suitable for retirement and contemplation, or better calculated for removing its inmates from all converse and communication with worldlings. But for the modern erection of a "busy mill," on the banks of the stream already mentioned, and a few dwellings, in the vicinity of the ruins, Mellifont would yet present a scene of lone desolation, not unsuited to the frame of mind, with which we might suppose it visited, by the reflective tourist or the religious pilgrim.

CHAPTER X.

Miracles of Malachy.—Heals various demoniacs and mute persons.—Interposes with happy effect, in behalf of certain women.—Denounces a scandalous and an impenitent sinner, who afterwards suffers the penalty of his crimes, by a violent death.—The saint restores, to health and strength, many sick and infirm persons.

In every province and city of Ireland, through which St. Malachy proceeded, many miracles, wrought by him, are recorded by his biographer, St. Bernard. Although, the names of the several places and

annum 1151 *ducæ videntur accessisse aliæ:* de Valle Salutis, *sive* Baltinglas *in agro Wickloensi*, et Magio *sive* Nenay *in Limiricensi. Nam* Rupensem *prope Cassiliam, licit Mellifontis filia et ipsa fuerit, posteriorum tamen fuisse temporum, in fine Notitiæ Cœnobiorum Cisterciensium Hibernia et Cassiliensium Archiepiscoporum Catalogo ostendit D. Jacobus Warœus eques auratus, in hoc studiorum genere versatissimus.*" *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, n. pp.* 149, 150.

* These materials, I have especially noticed, in the old and unique ruins of what is now usually denominated the Baptistery, on the occasion of a visit, to Mellifont, during the month of October, 1858.

† A gentleman, whose experience and research, as a student of Irish antiquities and architecture, are universally admitted, says that in Ireland he has met with no examples of brickwork, "except in the ruins of the chapel and baptistery of Mellifont, in the county of Louth, erected in 1165; and in these instances the bricks only occur intermixed with stone in rubble masonry." *Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland. Part. II. Sect. III. subsect. I. p.* 188.

the particulars of these wonderful works of the servant of the Lord are given, yet the dates of many of these occurrences are not noticed. The reason, assigned by the writer for these omissions, is, that in recording the several miracles of our Saint, the series of the narration, regarding his ordinary actions, should not be too often interrupted.* The provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster are named, with some of their principal cities, viz., Lismore, Cashel, Culrath, Sabhal, Duevania, (?) *alias* Cloyne, Oenthreb, Benchor, Cork, and Fochart.†

A woman lived in the city of Colerain,‡ who was tormented by a demon. Malachy was called to her assistance, and having prayed for her, the evil spirit departed, but seized upon another woman, who chanced to be present, at the time. Whereupon, Malachy said to the demon: "It was not, for this purpose, I expelled thee from one woman, that thou shouldst take possession of another. Depart from her, therefore, in like manner." The demon obeyed his command, but immediately seized upon the former woman, from whom, being again driven, he returned to her companion; and, thus retreating from one to the other, he for some time, alternately tormented both of them. But, the Saint feeling indignant, that he had been thus baffled by the demon, earnestly invoked the grace of the Holy Spirit; and, having excited himself to a renewed act of faith, in fine, he ejected the wicked spirit from both these women. The biographer of our Saint remarks, that his reader must not consider the inefficacy of Malachy's previous efforts to have arisen, from any want of virtue, on his part; but rather, was it permitted through the dispensations of Divine Providence, and that the victory of the holy bishop might be rendered more remarkable, owing to the pertinacity of the infernal spirit.

Our Saint wrought various miracles, not only when present, but even when absent, from the subjects in whose favour they were wrought; thus proving his potency, as the instrument of Divine Providence, in according favours to his fellow-creatures. In some part of the northern province of Ireland, a man was seized with a certain infirmity, which obliged him to keep his bed. No doubt existed in the mind of this man, that his illness was attributable to diabolic agency, from the fol-

* "Propter seriem autem narrationis, ne impediatur, aliqua quæ, dicturi sumus, deservamus in finem."

† The locations of Lismore, Cashel, Benchor or Bangor and Cork, are sufficiently known. Culrath or Culrathain, the present Coleraine in the county of Londonderry. Oenthreb is the present town of Antrim, in the county of the same name. Duevania I have not been able to identify; but, a note will be found, in a subsequent page, in which the opinion of Dr. Lanigan will be given, on a supposed error, regarding the insertion of this proper name. Sabhal Phadruig is the present Saul, in the county of Down. Fochart or Tochart, a village in the vicinity of Dundalk.

‡ The life has "in civitate Culratim," and in a marginal note, "Alias, Cultatim." The place, in question, was the city, mentioned in the text. "St. Bernard relates, that Malachy O'Morgair on one occasion visited the *Civitas Culratim*. In 1337, the king, in the minority of the Countess of Ulster, presented William Wolley to the Church of St. Patrick of Coulrath. Cal. Canc. Hib. vol. I. p. 42 b. In 1351, Richard Fitz Ralph, the celebrated Primate, preached a sermon to the people, in English, at Cowlrath. Cal. Clarend., vol. XLVI., fol. 101, dors. In 1609, Culrathan was annexed to the Treasurership of Connor. "St. Patrick's Church of Coleraine." *Terrier*, "Temple-Patrick *alias* Colerain." —Trien. Vis. 1661." *Rev. Wm. Reeves' Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore. n. (I.) p.* 75.

lowing circumstances. It was known to him, that St. Malachy had slept, in this house, a short time before his own illness, and that the straw, on which the Saint reposed, had not yet been removed, from the spot, in which it had been placed.* On a particular night, the infirm man heard certain demons, speaking to one another; and, during their discourse, he could hear these observations. "See that this wretched man be prevented from reaching the bed or straw on which that hypocrite reposed, lest he escape from us." Whereupon, filled with confidence and faith, although his strength had in a great measure departed, the invalid made an effort to creep towards the bed, which had been occupied by St. Malachy. But, immediately, on making this demonstration, the air was filled with outcries, and the following words were distinctly heard: "Prevent, prevent him, restrain, restrain him, we lose our prey." The faith of the man, and his desire of escaping from the wiles of his enemies, urged him to make a greater effort, the more he heard the clamour of the demons increase; until, at length, on his hands and knees, he was enabled to reach the bed, into which he ascended, and reclined upon the straw. Immediately, these words were howled, in a wailing tone, by the evil spirits: "Alas, alas! we have betrayed ourselves to him; he has escaped us, and we are disappointed." On the instant, the terror which he had conceived, on account of the supposed proximity of the demons, was dissipated, and the man was soon afterwards restored to health. In the city of Lismore, a man troubled by an evil spirit, was also restored, by Malachy. On another occasion, whilst passing through the province of Leinster, an infant, possessed by a demon, was brought to him, and, in like manner, delivered from its particular malady; whilst, in the same province, he ordered a maniac, who was tied with cords, to be loosed, and to be washed in water, blessed by himself. On complying with his requirements, the unhappy person, who appears to have been a woman, was restored to a sane state of mind. Another woman, who tore her flesh with her teeth, through the prayers and touch of our Saint, was delivered from her insanity, at Saul, in the province of Ulster.† A frantic man, whose strength and inclination to commit outrages rendered him an object of dread to his friends and relatives, was firmly bound with cords and brought to Malachy. The Saint offered up his prayers, for the restoration of this insane person, when his reasoning faculties returned, and his bonds were instantly loosed. At this passage of his narrative, St. Bernard observes, that the foregoing occurrence happened at a certain place, the name of which he would not record, because of its barbarous sound, and he says, that the same remark would hold good in many

* The circumstance here related, as also many other incidents, recorded in the lives of the Irish Saints, may be classed amongst the items of information, which serve to throw considerable light, upon the social habits and customs of our ancestors. Thus, it would seem, that the humble straw pallet of the poorer classes of the Irish peasantry, at the present day, had been used as the material, on which the better classes of our country people reposed, in the twelfth century. For, there is hardly a doubt, that the man mentioned in the text, was of some distinction, as he was probably the entertainer of our Saint, and perhaps, whilst the latter was on an episcopal visitation. The house, in all likelihood, was a private mansion or castle.

† Saul in the County of Down, celebrated in connection with the mission of St. Patrick.

other instances.* At another time, in the aforesaid city of Lismore, whilst passing through the midst of the street, he was met by the parents of a certain mute girl, who earnestly besought him, to assist their daughter. Malachy stood, and with a prayer, touched her tongue with his finger,† and dismissed her, with the faculty of speech.‡

On leaving a certain church, the Saint met a man, accompanied by his wife, who had been deprived of the faculty of speech. Whilst Malachy stood at a gate, with a number of people surrounding him, he was asked to interpose on behalf of the afflicted woman, by bestowing his benediction on her. He assented to the request, and ordered the woman to recite the Lord's Prayer. She complied, and the people, full of admiration, gave thanks to the Almighty. A wealthy inhabitant of a city, named Oenthreb,§ now Antrim, had been confined to his bed, and for the space of twelve days, he had been unable to to speak. But, our Saint, having been invited to visit him, the sick man recovered the use of speech, through the instrumentality of Malachy. The patient partook of the Holy Eucharist, and breathed forth his spirit, after having made a good confession.‖ Thus did it happen, that by the performance of miracles, in favour of those, who were in the enjoyment of health, and in behalf of those who were infirm, Malachy particularly distinguished himself, as the beloved minister of God. Thus, also, was he enabled, in the latter instance, to procure the happy advantages of a devout confession and communion, for one about to depart this life. A certain noble visited our Saint, having occasion to converse with him; and, during the course of this conversation, the nobleman showed the extent of his faith, in the Saint's virtue and

* "Factum est hoc loco quodam, cujus nomen tacemus, quod nimis barbarum sonet, sicut et alia multa." It is much to be regretted, that St. Bernard had not a more extensive acquaintance with philology, at least, so far as the Irish language was concerned. He might then discover a greater euphony, in the Gaelic orthography and pronunciation of localities, than would otherwise be the case, to an unpractised eye and ear. Moreover, the omission of the names of those localities detracts very much, from the biographical and antiquarian interest of his Life of our Saint, and manifests an error of judgment and taste, in this particular instance, on the part of an admired writer.

† "Tangens digito linguam ejus, sputum misit in os ejus, et loquentem dimisit." This action of our Saint, reminds us of those mystical practices of our Divine Redeemer, when he restored speech and hearing to the deaf and dumb man, and sight to the blind, as mentioned in the Gospel. *Mark VII. VIII. John IX.* In the ceremonies, used during the solemn administration of the Sacrament of Baptism, the helpless spiritual condition of the neophyte is expressed, by a similar action, on the part of the ministers of the Church; the corporally deaf, dumb, and blind, healed by our Saviour, becoming types of all those labouring under still greater spiritual destitution.

‡ *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. XX.* §§ 45, 46. *pp.* 1499, 1500. *Opera S. Bernardi, Tomus II.*

§ In a marginal note, annexed to the Benedictine edition, this city is designated as "Alias *Onereb.*" In the Irish annals and other ancient documents, this city, identical with the present town of Antrim, is variously designated, Oenṫreb, Aṫoenṫreb, Oenṫrub, Oenṫraib, Enṫrob, Oenṫrub, Aṫenṫruib, Oenṫrob, Aṫendruim. In the civil and ecclesiastical records of more recent times, and in Latin works, this town is called, Antrum, Antroye, Introya, Entroia, Entroyia, Introia, Ændromia, Ændromensis.

‖ "O, oliva fructifera in domo Dei! O oleum jucunditatis, unguens et lucens!" exclaims St. Bernard, after his relation of the foregoing miraculous occurrence.

miraculous powers, by piously and secretly removing from the bed or couch, on which the holy bishop sat, three rushes,* which were carefully preserved. With these apparently insignificant relics, it pleased the Almighty to work many miracles, as well to reward the faith of their possessor, as to manifest the sanctity of the venerable bishop.

Our Saint happened to enter a city, named Duevania. (?)† Whilst placed at table, a certain noble of that city approached him, and intreated the intercession of the prelate, in behalf of his wife, who was pregnant. Her condition was considered to be attended with imminent danger, and her case an extraordinary one, for the expected time of her delivery had been long passed. Neemias,‡ the bishop of that city, who was seated beside Malachy, and all the others, who were present at the banquet, joined their prayers with those of the nobleman, and in behalf of the wife of the latter. Whereupon, the Saint replied, "I have compassion on her, because she is a good and a virtuous woman." He then handed to the nobleman a cup, which he had blessed, and said to him; "Go, and let her drink from it. Let her know, that she partakes of a blessed draught, and soon, and without danger, she shall be delivered." The request of the Saint was complied with, whilst on that very night, his prediction was happily fulfilled. A miracle, like to the former, is recorded as having taken place, on an occasion, when our Saint was seated with a certain chief of Ulster, in a field, whilst a multitude of people surrounded them. A pregnant woman approached, and declared, that contrary to the usual course of nature, she had been with child for the space of fifteen months and twenty days. Malachy compassionated her, on account of her distressing state, offered up his prayers for her relief, and, shortly afterwards, she was safely delivered. Those who were present and witnesses of the miraculous occurrence were filled with joy and admiration.§

We are told, by the biographer of our Saint, that a miracle, attended with disastrous results to a guilty person, occurred, at the same place. Malachy saw there, a soldier, the servant of a certain chieftain, who was said to have kept the concubine of his brother, in a public manner. The scandal becoming thus generally known, the incestuous man was publicly cited before the Saint, who like another John the Baptist reproved him with the words, "It is not lawful for thee, to retain the concubine of thy brother." But, the impenitent man, like a second

* "Tres juncos."

† Dr. Lanigan, alluding to the miracles of our saint, related in *Messingham's Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum*, where St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy is published, says that *chap.* XIII. is by oversight or through a typographical error marked VIII. and that in part of said chapter or in *chap.* XXI. Mabillon's edition, "Cloyne is erroneously called *Duenvania* or *Duevania*, instead of *Cluenvania*." *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol. IV. chap. XXVII. § VII. n.* 54, *p.* 123.

‡ "*Nehemiah O-Moriertach* flourished in the year 1140. *St. Bernard* mentions him in the life of *St. Malachy;* but in the printed Copy he is in a mistake called, *Episcopus Duenvaniae,* instead of *Cluanvaniæ*. He died about the year 1149. The Author of *Tundall's Vision* calls him, "a plain and modest man, excelling all others in Wisdom and Chastity." *Harris' Ware, Vol. I. Bishops of Cloyne, p.* 574.

§ "Omnes enim viderunt," adds St. Bernard, "in qua facilitate et velocitate loco eodem enixa sit, et triste negati partus periculum miraculo commutatum jucundiori." *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. XXI.* § 47, *pp.* 1500, 1501. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus* 11.

Herod, not only turned a deaf ear to the Saint's remonstrances; but, even in presence of the multitude, replied in a contumelious manner, and swore that he would never abandon her.* Whereupon Malachy being greatly moved at his obstinacy, and full of zeal for the reformation of public abuses, cried out, "The Lord will separate you from her, however unwillingly you may bear it." With a contemptuous and indignant mien, the sinner left the presence of our Saint, and meeting a woman not far from the place where the assembly had been convened, he offered her violence; for, being long abandoned to the instigation of the Devil, his evil passions were entirely uncontrolled. But, this disgraceful action was speedily made known, and fearfully avenged. A servant maid that accompanied her mistress, who had been thus abused, in great agitation of mind, ran to the house—most probably of the latter—which stood at no great distance, from the spot. The brothers of the violated woman, who were in the house, heard the evil tidings, and full of indignation, on account of their outraged sister, ran immediately to her assistance. The wicked soldier, apprehended in the commission of crime, speedily fell a victim to their rage, and he died covered with wounds. The public assembly had not yet separated, when word was brought, by the armour-bearer of the deceased, to the people there convened. All were struck with admiration, on account of the speedy fulfilment of our Saint's prophecy. And as there were many evil disposed persons, in this part of the country, an universal fear pervaded all of them, because of this terrible vindication of God's justice, even in this life, and by reason of the sudden, unprovided and sanguinary death of a public and impenitent sinner.†

St. Malachy, also, wrought a miracle, in favour of a certain chief, named Dermod or Diarmitius, who for a long time had been confined to his bed, and whose friends, as well as himself, had abandoned all hope of his recovery. This chieftain was known to be a bad liver, having been addicted to gluttony and banqueting. Although he had been reproved by our Saint, for this course of life; the latter, nevertheless, on sprinkling him with holy water, caused the bed-ridden chieftain to arise, and he became so far restored to health, as to be able to mount his horse. Whilst in the city of Cashel, a certain man presented himself, being accompanied by his son, who was a paralytic. The father besought Malachy to restore his son, and the Saint returned for answer; "Go thy way, thy son shall be healed." The father and son retired; but, on the day following both returned, the afflicted boy not having been yet restored. Then Malachy arose, stood up, and prayed a long time for him, when the boy was healed. The saint then turned towards the father, and said; "Offer thy son to God." The man promised to comply, but did not perform his promise; and, after a lapse of years, the young man fell into the same complaint, doubtless, as St. Bernard observes, in consequence of his father's disobedience and neglect of his agreement. When our Saint was within the

* See, *Mark vi.* 17 to 28.

† *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. XXII.* § 48. *pp.* 1501, 1502. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

confines of the Munster province, a person came from a distant part of the country, accompanied by a son, who was entirely deprived of the use of his feet. The saint inquired how the boy had met with this accident, and received for reply, that the malignity of the devil was supposed to have influenced his present condition. He was told, moreover, that whilst the boy was playing, in a certain meadow, a profound sleep seized upon him, and on awaking, his limbs were found to refuse their office. The father then burst into tears, and besought the Saint to exert his patronage, in behalf of the boy. Full of compassion, the holy man prayed, whilst in obedience to his orders, the afflicted boy slept there upon the ground.* The youth arose perfectly restored: and, because this boy had come from a distant part of the country, St. Malachy retained him as a companion or servant, and he often walked in company with our Saint.

In the monastery of Bangor, a certain poor man was supported, by the alms of the brethren. He was rewarded each day, for some trifling services he had been able to render, in the bakery of this establishment. From the age of twelve, this poor man had been lame, and was obliged to creep along the ground with the assistance of his hands; thus, with difficulty, drawing his enfeebled feet along, during his inconvenient movements. St. Malachy found him one day, before his cell, full of grief, and complaining of his wretched state. Having asked the cause of his sorrow, the man replied; "You see, that for a long time, I have been an afflicted wretch, and how the hand of God has fallen on me. And, to add to my miseries, those men who ought rather compassionate my misfortunes, deride and reproach me, by alluding to them." The holy man, who had never turned a deaf ear to the voice of affliction, moved with pity, raised his eyes and hands towards Heaven. Having poured forth a short, but fervent prayer, the Saint entered his cell, and the pauper stood upright on his feet, wondering at the same time, if he were not under the influence of some delusive dream. However, he began to exercise his feet, and thought he could never walk a sufficient distance, so great was the newly-born joy he experienced. Being fully satisfied, that the Almighty had dealt mercifully towards him, he walked on, with a firm step, and entered the bakery, leaping, rejoicing and praising the Lord. Those, who saw him, at the time, and who knew his condition, a short time before, were filled alternately with astonishment and ecstacy, supposing the appearance of the man, in his recovered state, to present the realization of some strange phantasy. Malachy healed a dropsical man, also, by offering up his prayers. This man immediately entered the monastery, in which he remained; and, afterwards, he became a pastor, in the fold of Christ.

* In the text, the Benedictine edition of St. Bernard's works has "super solium," but in the margin, "Fortasse, *solum*."

CHAPTER XI.

Miracle of St. Malachy, in relation to the Bishop of Cork.—Restores a woman to life, in the neighbourhood of Bangor.—Spiritual favours procured for a woman, and man, through the ministry of our saint.—Miraculous supply of fishes.—A cleric of Lismore, who denied the real presence of Christ in the Blessed Eucharist, becomes penitent, according to the prediction of the Saint.

One of the miracles of our saint is recorded, as having taken place at Cork,* on the occasion of electing a bishop, to succeed to the episcopal throne. On the authority of Sir James Ware, this see is said to have been vacant, in 1140, when a bishop, whose name is not known, was nominated by St. Malachy, according to the relation given in his life. The abuses of personal intrigue, predilections and the claims of patronage prevailed at this election, and continued until the arrival of Malachy, who, in an assembly of the people and clergy convoked by him, labored to unite the choice of all upon the most worthy candidate. He represented to them, the authority committed to his trust by the Apostolic see, as guardian of the interests of all the Irish dioceses; and, he recommended them to unite their suffrages, not upon any one of the noble families, urging their pretensions, but upon a certain man, who, although a stranger, was both learned and holy. At this very time, the person named was so delicate in health, that he was almost continually confined to his bed, from which he could not rise, without support. This circumstance, alone, would seem to form an insuperable objection, and was strongly urged by the infirm man. When it became known to Malachy, he cried out, "I command him to arise in the name of the Lord; his obedience shall restore him to health." Although dreading the cares of the episcopacy, through a motive of obedience to the appointment of the Legate, the afflicted nominee made an attempt to move his limbs, when he found his strength miraculously restored. His faith and confidence in the divine assistance, increased with his strength; in a short time, he was able, not only to arise from his bed without support, but even to walk without difficulty. He came immediately to Malachy, as had been desired, and was inducted by the latter, into the cathedral church, with the unanimous applause of all the clergy and people. This evident miracle of his restoration to health procured obedience, on the part of the flock, to their newly appointed bishop; and, on the part of the bishop, to the will of God, manifested in so remarkable a manner.‡

* In a marginal note, the Benedictine editors of the works of S. Bernard have, "Alias, *Corcava*." In the text, the name of the city is rendered, "Corcagia."

† It is thought by Dr. Lanigan, that the name of this worthy bishop, although not mentioned, by St. Bernard, was the celebrated Gilla Aeda O'Mugin, a truly good and learned man, who assisted at the Council of Kells, held in 1152, and who died in 1172. He is supposed to have been a native of Connaught, and to have belonged to the monastery of Regular Canons, at Cork, following the rule of St. Augustine. This house is said to have been refounded in 1134, under the invocation of St. John the Baptist, by Cormac, king of Munster, or as some write it,

A certain noble lady, who was much esteemed by Malachy, suffered from a flux of blood. This female, who was still more distinguished by her virtues, than by her birth, felt a total prostration of strength, in consequence of her disease. Believing her last end about to approach, she sent a message to our Saint, that he would instantly hasten to afford the succours of the church to her departing soul. On receiving this message, our Saint was grieved for the loss of a lady, whose life had been fruitful in good works and edifying example. Fearing that he could not arrive, at a seasonable time, to reach her alive, he sent a certain young and active man, named Malchus, the brother of the abbot Christian, already spoken of, and to him he said: "Hasten, and bear these three apples to her, on which I have invoked the blessing of God. I trust in that holy name, that whosoever shall partake of these, shall not taste death, before I am seen by that person, even although a little delay may occur in my approach." According to his orders, Malchus hastened onwards, and entered the house of the dying woman, proving himself like the servant of Eliseus;* only, with the exception, that the result proved more efficacious. Malchus told the lady to receive the gift, and taste the present sent her by Malachy, with his blessing, if she at all felt able to do it. Having heard the name of Malachy mentioned, she at once revived; and, by a sign, intimated her readiness to obey. Not being able to speak, she with some difficulty raised herself in bed, and tasted the fruit. Having done so, she felt comforted, spoke, and gave thanks to God. She fell into a slumber, which had been long a stranger to her eyes. She had not been able to partake of her usual food, for some time previous. After a short time, she awoke, and found herself restored, the flux of blood having ceased. Her long fasting, joined to the effects of her disease, rendered her very weak; but, notwithstanding, on the day

king of Desmond. It was established for strangers, from Connaught, who were the countrymen of St. Barr, patron of Cork. This house is said to have acquired, the name of Gill Abbey, from the bishop already mentioned, who is also styled abbot. Lanigan thinks it probable, he did not assume the government of this house, until after he was bishop, and that thus may be answered the only objection, that could be brought against his having been the same as the poor man, spoken of by St. Bernard; as, it may be asked, had he been an abbot before he became bishop of Cork, would St. Bernard have called him merely a *poor man*, while contrasting him with the nobles of his country? Ware, at the *Bishops of Cork*, distinguishes Gilla Aeda O'Mugin, from the bishop mentioned by St. Bernard; perhaps, on account of his reasons for thinking, that the latter person was appointed by St. Malachy, about 1140, and his supposing, that this might be too early a date for the appointment of Gilla Aeda, who lived until 1172. But, St. Bernard has no mention about the date of that appointment, so that, according to Dr. Lanigan, it might have been six or seven years later, than what Ware imagined. He might have been moved, also, by St. Bernard calling that man an *alienigena*, as if he meant to say a *foreigner*, the translation given by Harris to the word. But, from the context, it is sufficiently plain, that St. Bernard called him an *alieniyena* for no other reason, than because he was not an original subject of the Diocese of Cork. Such a term would also well apply to Gilla Aeda O'Mugin, especially if he were, as is stated, a native of Connaught. See, *Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum, p.* 64. *Harris' Ware, Vol. I. Bishops of Cork. p.* 557, and *Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland. chap. XXXVIII. p.* 266. *Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVII.* § *VIII.* and *n.* 56. *pp.* 124 to 126.

* IV. *Kings* IV.

following, the much desired visit of Malachy and his presence effected her entire recovery.*

A certain nobleman lived in the vicinity of the monastery of Bangor. It chanced, that his wife was at the point of death, when he applied to our Saint, entreating him to visit her, before her expected dissolution, that she might receive Extreme Unction, at his hands. Malachy complied with his request, went down to the nobleman's residence, and, when he entered it, the woman, on beholding the bishop, felt greatly rejoiced, at the immediate prospect of receiving the last sacraments. At first, the Saint was making preparations to anoint her, but as it was about eventide when he entered the house, he judged it unnecessary, on second consideration, to administer the last Sacrament, until the following morning.† In this opinion, the members of the household, and all those who chanced to be present, acquiesced; when the Saint merely invoked a blessing on the patient, and retired, with those who accompanied him.‡ Yet, shortly afterwards, a great lamentation and outcries were heard; and exclamations resounded through the whole house, that the woman was dead. On hearing these confused sounds, Malachy, and the band of disciples, that attended him, hastened back to the house. Our Saint approaching the patient's bed, that he might ascertain correctly, whether her spirit had departed, or if she yet lived, felt his mind greatly disturbed, imputing to his oversight, the circumstance, that she had died, deprived of the grace of the last Sacrament. Then, raising his hands towards Heaven, he exclaimed: "O my God! I have acted inconsiderately, and I deprecate your judgments, for it is I, alone, who have sinned. It is I, who have deferred the administration of the Sacra-

* *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XXIII.* §§ 49, 50, 51, 52. *pp.* 1502 1503, 1504, 1505. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

† Dr. Lanigan thinks, the probable reason for this delay, was a supposition, that it would be more becoming the sacraments should not be administered by the clergy, unless when fasting, except in cases of urgent necessity. *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. Chap. XXVII.* § *VII. n.* 52. *p.* 123. The reason assigned for this postponement, by the Rev. Alban Butler, is, that the patient might be better disposed to receive it, on the following morning. *Lives of the Saints. Vol. XI. III. November.* The latter appears to me, to have been the real motive, that induced our saint to defer the administration of the sacrament, unless as might have been the case, he did not suppose the lady to have been in any immediate danger of death.

‡ In his account of this miracle, the Rev. Alban Butler represents St. Malachy, as retiring to a chamber, in the nobleman's house. *Lives of the Saints, Vol. XI. III. November.* But, this is quite contrary to St. Bernard's statement, that, after giving his benediction to the sick woman, "exivit, cum his qui secum erant." Butler might have reflected, that if St. Malachy occupied an apartment in the nobleman's house, it is also likely, his attendants must have had chambers there allotted to them. But, there appears to have been no necessity whatever, for their remaining in the house, during night, as the monastery of Bangor was near the residence of the nobleman; so that, if their attendance was required, they could be present, within a very short time. Nor would it have been consistent with monastic rule, for St. Malachy and his monks to have remained out of their monastery, at night, without necessity. The persons who accompanied our Saint, in all likelihood, were required to assist at the administration of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, in conformity with the antient discipline of the Irish church, and the practice yet prevailing on the Continent, where the Holy Viaticum is brought to the sick, with *luminaria* and acolythes.

ments, and not the departed woman, who had wished to receive them." He then remarked, before those who were present, and in the hearing of all, that his mind would not be at rest, nor receive any consolation, unless he would be able to restore those graces, of which he had unwittingly deprived her.* Then, standing beside the body, during the whole night, he poured forth tears and prayers. Whilst, the former fell copiously on the dead, he reminded his disciples, that they also should watch and pray. The attendants spent the night, in the recital of psalms, whilst their pious superior wept. On the approach of morning, it pleased the Almighty, graciously to hear the prayers of his servant, accompanied as they were, by other indications of his troubled spirit. To the inexpressible astonishment of all, the dead woman opened her eyes, like one awaking from a profound sleep. Passing her hands over her forehead and temples, she raised herself on the bed, and, on recognizing Malachy, she inclined devoutly to salute him. Those, who had seen and heard what occurred, felt their sadness, at once, converted into joy, and our Saint failed not to return his heartfelt thanks to the Almighty. He afterwards anointed her, notwithstanding this unexpected recovery, knowing that sins were remitted by this sacrament, and that the prayer of faith should heal the sick.† He took his leave, and the woman became convalescent, having lived for some time after this event, that the power of God might be manifested through her. She performed penance, as the holy bishop requested her, and again departed to eternal rest, after having made a good Confession.‡

Another instance of the efficacy of the Sacraments of the Church, through the ministry of Malachy, is thus recorded by St. Bernard. A certain woman was so much distinguished, by her uncontrollable bursts of passion, that not only her neighbours and kindred, but, even her children felt a repugnance, to her society and conversation. On every occasion, rage, railing and outcries announced her presence. Fierce, impetuous, and impulsive acts of violence, as well as bad language, were to be apprehended from her: she had rendered herself detested by all, because she would not submit herself to any restraint of her passions. The children of this intractable mother grieving, on account of her unhappy temper, and of their own wretched condition, under such a parent, brought her into the presence of Malachy, and, in tears, poured forth their complaints to him, of her unbecoming conduct. The holy man, compassionating the state of the mother's mind, and their own grievous inconvenience, called the woman apart, and with charitable solicitude, asked her, if she had been in the habit of approaching the tribunal of penance? On answering him, in the negative, he urged her to make a confession, and she obeyed. The Saint afterwards imposed a penance for her performance, he prayed that the Almighty would deign to grant her the spirit of meekness,

* This incident, in the life of our Saint, was often repeated by St. Charles Borromeo, to his priests, when he exhorted them to be careful and diligent, in administering the sacrament of Extreme Unction to the sick, in due time.

† *James V.* 15.

‡ *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. XXIV.* § 53, *pp.* 1505, 1506. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

and desired of her, in the name of the Lord Jesus, that she would not thenceforth give way to anger. Such was her subsequent mildness of demeanour, that all, who had heretofore known her, were convinced, that her conversion could alone be attributed to the extraordinary graces of the Most High. When St. Bernard wrote his life of our Saint, he tells us, that he had heard it reported, she was then living, and that she, who had on former occasions exasperated all, with whom she came in contact, was then so much distinguished for her patience and moderation of temper, that neither afflictions, losses nor reproaches could in the least degree ruffle the serenity of her temper. If it be permitted me to judge, according to the words of the Apostle, that each man should "abound in his own sense,"* observes St. Bernard, let others think as they please; but I am of opinion, that in the present, a greater miracle had been wrought, than in the former case. For, in one instance, a dead body was restored to life, and in the other, the interior spirit was renewed and revivified. Again, a man, who, in the estimation of the world, was of honourable extraction, and who in that of God, was found to be impressed with the salutary fear of displeasing his Creator, came to Malachy, complaining of an aridity of soul, and entreating the holy bishop, at the same time, to obtain for him the gift of tears. The saint was much gratified, when he found a layman, so far advanced in a spiritual life. With smiles, he embraced the man, and pressed his cheek to that of his visitor, in an affectionate manner. Whilst bestowing the kiss of peace, after this fashion, the Saint said to him, "Be it done unto thee, according to thy desire." Thenceforward, such continuous floods of tears streamed from the man's eyes, that as the holy biographer of our Saint remarks, to this noble might be applied that passage of the Sacred Scriptures; "The fountain of gardens: the well of living waters, which run with a strong stream from Libanus."†

We are told, by St. Bernard, that there was an island of the sea, which was remarkable for an abundance of fish, in former times, and that the sea, around its shores, had acquired a like notoriety for its produce. Owing to the crimes of the inhabitants, as was generally believed, the usual means of sustenance had been withdrawn, and the ordinary sources, whence their supplies had been derived, suddenly failed them. The inhabitants were grieved, at this loss, which they could sustain only with great difficulty and inconvenience. But, to a certain woman, it was revealed, that the prayers of Malachy would afford them relief, and with the knowledge and consent of the islanders, she set out to find the Saint, who chanced to be near them, at the time. For, being engaged on his visitation, whilst spreading the seeds of the Gospel through the country, he had directed his course towards this particular spot, that he might impart the same graces to its people. But, the rude inhabitants of the island, insensible to his ministration of spiritual blessings, and thinking only on the physical wants, under which they laboured, earnestly besought the Saint, that he would take into favourable consideration, the sterility of their source of supply, in

* *Romans*, XIV. 5.
† *Canticles*, IV. 15.

the place of their abode. The Saint returned for answer, that his mission had not been directed thither, for such a purpose; and, that he desired, rather to become the fisher of men, than the captor of fishes. However, on witnessing their faith, having knelt down on the shore, he besought the Almighty, that he would not refuse the renewal of benefits, formerly conferred on these unworthy people, because of the faith which they manifested, in preferring their petitions through him. The prayer of the holy man ascended like a sweet incense to Heaven, and was bounteously heard. A greater number of fish appeared in the waters, than during the days of old; and, at the time St. Bernard wrote, that source of supply, did not forsake the islanders. Nor, is it to be wondered at, the Saint observes, that Malachy was enabled to procure such a supply of fish, because the prayer of the just man reaches the Heavens, and penetrates to the abyss and depths of the sea.

On a certain occasion, three Bishops accompanied St. Malachy to the village of Fochart,* which is said to have been the birth place of St. Bridget. The priest of the place, whose duty it was to exercise the rites of hospitality, complained of his inability to procure fish. Malachy replied, that he could seek them from the fishermen. But, the priest said: "Two years have elapsed, since the fish have deserted the river,† and the fishermen have even abandoned their calling, and are engaged at other pursuits." "Then," replied the Saint, "in the name of God, let the nets be submerged." His orders were executed, and the result was a capture of twelve salmon. A second time the nets were spread, and the same number of fish was taken. A dish, the contents of which had not been expected at table, furnished evidence of the miracle; and, that it had been owing to the merits and virtues of Malachy, clearly appeared, for, during the two following years, after this occurrence, the fishery proved wholly unproductive.‡

A certain cleric, lived at Lismore, whose morals were in good repute, although his faith was defective, on an important point of Catholic dogma. This man had formed no slight opinion of his own powers of mind, and he had the presumption to maintain, that in the Blessed Eucharist was the Sacrament, only, and not the substance of the Sacrament; in other words, he denied the real presence of the body of Christ, and admitted only sanctification, through the reception of the sacred elements.§ Being often admonished, in secret, by St. Malachy,

* In the margin of the Benedictine edition, there is another reading, "Alias, Fouchaut." Faughart is a parish, in the barony of Upper Dundalk, and County of Louth; it is situated about two English miles, (N.N.E.) from the present town of Dundalk.

† The river here alluded to, in all probability, was the present Kilcurry river, which runs through the parish of Faughart, and flows into the sea, at the town of Dundalk, having formed that considerable estuary, known as the harbour of the latter place.

‡ *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. XXV.* §§ 54, 55, 56, *pp.* 1506, 1507, 1508. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

§ Such appears to be the real exposition of St. Bernard's account of the heresy of this Lismore cleric. A similar error of a monk is recorded in the *Vita Prima S. Bernardi, Lib. VII. cap. VI.*, as follows: "Quidam monachus hujus sancti Patris (*scil.* Bernardi) per fallacias dæmonum, et per proprii sensus simplicitatem, in tantam cordis inopiam devenerat, ut diceret panem et vinum aqua mistum, quæ proponuntur in altari, nequaquam transubstantiari posse in verum corpus et sanguinem Domini

to abandon his erroneous doctrine, but without a favourable result, he was cited before an assembly of clergymen, and afforded the opportunity of defending his opinions, in the best manner he was able. No lay persons were allowed to be present; and, it was hoped, that this opportunity would tend to his emendation, rather than to his confusion. Accordingly, the obstinate man, with some display of ingenuity and talent, endeavoured to establish and defend his propositions; but, Malachy replied with such force of argument, that in the judgment of all present, he successfully refuted what had been advanced by his opponent. The latter, full of confusion, left the assembly, but, he was not yet prepared to abandon his dangerous opinions. He maintained, that the authority of the Bishop, and not his cogent reasons, contributed to produce this confusion. He even had the insolence to state, in the presence of Malachy, that contrary to the dictates of our Saint's conscience, the known truth had been impugned by the latter, in the course of this disputation. Malachy grieved for the obstinacy of this self-willed man, and felt still greater regret for the injury done by him to the true faith. Apprehensive of the propagation of error, he convoked an ecclesiastical assembly, and publicly reproved the contumacious man, and warned him to retract his errors. The Bishops and other clergy present joined the Saint, in his remonstrances; but, the cleric would not yield to them, so that they were obliged to declare him a heretic, and to anathematize him. The condemned man protested against this sentence, saying, that the opinions of one man, rather than a respect for the truth, had been the cause of his condemnation; whilst he, who was no respecter of persons, would not desert the truth. Malachy felt hurt at these remarks, and replied: "The Lord will cause you to acknowledge the truth, even of necessity." The impenitent man

nostri Jesu Christi. Quapropter vivifica Sacramenta, tanquam nihil profutura sibi, sumere despiciebat. Notatus denique a fratribus, quod Sacramentis altaris non participaret, convenitur secreto a senioribus suis. Requisitus causam non negat: dicit Sacramentis se nequaquam fidem adhibere." See. *Patrilogiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV. p.* 419. The account immediately afterwards given, tells us, that the matter was referred to St. Bernard, whose remonstrances and arguments were not capable of inducing the monk to believe, that the bread and wine, as offered in the holy sacrifice of the altar, were truly the body and blood of Christ. The incredulous monk, at the same time, stated his conviction, that he would be condemned to hell, for this want of faith. Yet, it would seem, his error proceeded only from an involuntary temptation: for St. Bernard earnestly and affectionately commanded him, even if he had not faith, through the virtue of holy obedience, to go and communicate, with the faith of his saintly and learned superior. The monk obeyed his directions, and, although approaching the altar, the communicant felt himself devoid of faith, until he had partaken of the Holy Eucharist. Through the merits of St. Bernard, his mind was presently illuminated with faith, in the Sacraments, which continued without interruption to the day of his death. In the foregoing account, as also, in that recorded in the text, we have lessons of instruction afforded us, of the dangerous effects of preferring our own fallible opinions, on sublime mysteries of Faith, to the inspirations of Divine revelation, as announced to us in the Sacred Scriptures, and in the infallible decrees of the Church, established by Christ upon earth. Self-sufficiency, pride and presumption have ever proved the fruitful parents of doubt and error, especially in matters pertaining to Faith; whilst, humble diffidence in our own opinions and a spirit of ready obedience to the teaching and traditions of the Church and of her divinely constituted Pastors cannot fail to produce, within our souls, a firm trust in all her doctrines and practices, and that peace of mind, which surpasseth all understanding.

cried out, "Amen," and the assembly was dissolved. The condemned cléric, covered with infamy and confusion, on account of these proceedings, resolved on abandoning the city, and having removed his effects, he set out on his journey. But, being seized with a sudden infirmity, he was obliged to stop on the way, and finding his strength failing him, wearied and heavily breathing, he threw himself on the ground. Whilst in this condition, an insane man chanced to direct his wandering steps to the spot, where he found the wretched cleric. The maniac, asking the latter what brought him there, received for answer, that a grievous infirmity had seized him, so that he could neither prosecute his journey, nor even return. The insane man replied: "This infirmity of yours is nothing less, than the approach of death itself." These words were not spoken by the witless person, without a corresponding fulfilment of the prediction; and thus by means of the wandering maniac, it pleased the Almighty to reprove effectually the pride of a sane man, who would not listen to the profitable counsels of the wise. "Return to your home and I will assist you," said the maniac. The cleric took his advice and received the assistance proferred, so that, accompanied by his witless guide, he was at length enabled to reach the city. The heart of the proud heretic was moved, and it pleased the Almighty to show him mercy. The bishop was sent for, on the instant; truth was proclaimed, by the infirm man, and his error was recanted. Through the Sacrament of Confession, his sins were remitted; he asked for the Holy Viaticum, and shortly afterwards expired. All, to whom the circumstances were known, admired the speedy fulfilment of the words of Malachy.*

CHAPTER XII.

Malachy intervenes to restore peace, between hostile clans.—Providential frustration of subsequent belligerent designs.—Successful intercession for the life of a noble.—Punishment endured by the treacherous king, on account of his perfidy.

In a certain part of Ireland, a dissention arose amongst the people of adjoining districts. Application was made to Malachy, by some person, to induce him to use his influence in restoring peace; but, being interrupted by other pressing duties, he requested one of his brother bishops to undertake this difficult business. The Bishop excused himself, on the ground, that application had been made to Malachy, in the first instance, and that his own influence would be of no avail to effect this object. Malachy replied, "Go, and the Lord will be your helper." "I agree," said the Bishop, "provided an appeal be allowed to your pastoral authority, should they be unwilling to obey me." Malachy smiling, returned an expression of assent. The Bishop upon this assembled the belligerent parties, and dictated the terms of peace; they were

* *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XXVI.* § 57, *pp.* 1508, 1509. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

eagerly accepted, and seemingly ratified, when the meeting dissolved. But, one of these parties, maliciously resolving to take revenge on the other, treacherously seized upon the opportunity presented, by the establishment of the truce, and fell upon their opponents, who were unguarded and unarmed. Hereupon, the Bishop, who had procured the agreement, ran to the hostile leader, that had broken his engagement, and reproached him with want of faith, but received no satisfaction. He endeavoured to interpose the authority of the holy Legate, as a check, to restrain the violence of the chieftain, who replied in a scoffing manner. "Do you think," said he, "we ought to spare, on your account, the wretches whom God hath delivered into our hands?" The Bishop, in despair, directed his steps to the monastery, where St. Malachy dwelt at the time, and with tears and lamentations, besought his interference, in these words: "Where are you! O man of God, where are you? Did I not tell you, father, how vain would be my efforts? Alas! alas! I went as you had desired, that I might effect good, and prevent evil: and behold, through my means, all these people are about to perish, one portion of them corporally, and the other spiritually!" He poured forth many complaints of this kind, and urged Malachy to exert his immediate efforts, againt the violence of the insurgent party.*

Meantime, however, the wicked persons prosecuted their designs in pursuing to destruction those, with whom they had made peace; but, by a singular coincidence, evil was repaid in kind, by the falsehood of certain partizans of the opposite faction. False intelligence was conveyed to the perjured foe, and to this effect, that their own lands were wasted, by a sudden irruption of the men they designed attacking; and, that their wives and children, with all moveable property, were carried off as spoils. Upon this report, all immediately hastened back to assume the defensive, rather than the offensive. But, although soon discovering the falsehood of this piece of information, the confusion produced in their designs was such, that the wicked enterprise, upon which they had at first resolved, was abandoned. The Bishop returned with great joy to the Legate, representing to him all that had occurred, and the remarkable frustration of the designs of the perjured party, through the intervention of Divine Providence.

Malachy, fearing a resumption of hostilities, found occasion to renew the pledge already given, by either party, and to confirm by a solemn

* I have not been able to ascertain, if the present narrative of St. Bernard has been alluded to, in the usually abridged entries of the Irish Annals. Numerous instances of infractions of treaties, amongst the princes and chiefs of Ireland, are on record, during the period of St. Malachy's ecclesiastical rule. I am inclined to think, that the scene of the present narrative must have been at no great distance from the diocese of Down, over which our Saint presided, if not actually within its limits. I am also of opinion, that the time of its occurrence must have been about the period when St. Malachy was charged with the administration of the see of Down; for, we may infer, that the monastery, in which the Saint is said to have lived, during these disturbances, was probably that, in which he usually resided. Besides, the account is contained in one of the last chapters of St. Bernard's life of our Saint, and on that account, also, it might not be unreasonable to suppose, that the occurrences in question might be referred to one of the closing years of St. Malachy's existence.

oath these engagements. But, the party which was about to suffer, heretofore, by the infraction of the treaty, mindful of this injury, prepared to take in turn a like cowardly revenge. For this purpose, having assembled their forces, they march unexpectedly towards the territories of their enemies. A large river was crossed by them, without any great inconvenience; but, having arrived at the banks of a rivulet, which they were obliged to cross, and which on ordinary occasions was always fordable, they found it an insuperable obstacle to their designs. Without any apparent cause, the waters seemed swollen to such an extent, as to cover the whole surrounding country, on its borders. All of those who were present, struck with astonishment, at this unusual appearance, began to question each other, in these words: "How comes it to pass, that such an inundation should take place, whilst the atmosphere is serene, whilst no rains are falling, nor have lately fallen, to our recollection? And, even had much rain fallen, who has recollected in any deluge, within memory, such a rush of waters, covering the fields and meadows of the whole country? Truly, the finger of God is visible in this instance, and the Almighty has obstructed our passage, on account of his servant Malachy, whose treaty we have broken, and whose commands we have transgressed." This unaccountable phenomenon caused an instantaneous return, and the abandonment of the present, or of a future attempt. The fame of this circumstance was divulged, throughout the land; and the name of God was blessed, whilst the designs of the wicked were defeated, and their confederacy was dissolved.

On another occasion, a dispute took place between the King—possibly Turlough O'Connor who then ruled over Ireland—and one of his nobles; but, a reconciliation was effected between them, through the intervention of Malachy.* This had been done, at the

* It is possible, the event here recorded may be reconcilable with the following circumstances, which are related in the Irish Annals, at the year, 1143. "Murchadh Ua Maeleachlainn, King of Meath and its Fortuatha, was taken prisoner by Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair, King of Connaught, while he was under the protection of the relics and guarantees of Ireland. These were they: the altar of Ciaran, with its relics; the shrine of Ciaran, called the Oreineach; the Matha-mor; the abbot and the prior, and the two out of every order in the church; Muireadhach Ua Dubhthaigh, the archbishop, the lord of Connaught; the successor of Patrick and the staff of Jesus; the successor of Feichin, and the bell of Feichin; and the Boban of Caeimhghin. All these were between Toirdhealbhach and Murchadh, that there should be no treachery, no guile, no defection of the one from the other, no blinding, no imprisoning, and no circumscribing of Murchadh's territory or land, until his crime should be evident to the sureties, and that they might proclaim him not entitled to protection; however, he was guilty of no crime, though he was taken. He was set at liberty at the end of a month afterwards, through the interference of his sureties, and he was conveyed by his sureties into Munster; and the kingdom of Meath was given by Toirdhealbhach to his own son, Conchobhar. This capture was effected as follows: a hosting was made by Toirdhealbhach, as if to proceed into Munster; the Connaughtmen, the Conmaicni, and the Ui-Briuin, collected to one place, and Ua Maeleachlainn was taken and conveyed to Dun-mor, together with the hostages of Meath in general; but not the smallest part of Meath was injured on this occasion." *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters. Vol. II. pp.* 1072, 1073. In Connell Mageoghegan's *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, the foregoing incidents are erroneously entered, under the year, 1139. With regard to the relics alluded to, in the Annals: the *Oreineach* (sometimes written

earnest solicitation of the noble, who distrusted the character of the king, and with justice also, as appears by the sequel. Mutual faith being plighted, for the observance of future peace, the king selected an unguarded moment, seized on the person of the noble, and shut him up in prison. The chieftain was demanded by his friends, at the hands of his mediator, St. Malachy; although, they expected nothing less than the infliction of death, according to the usual barbarous practice of the conquerors of that time. The Saint, with a number of his companions, proceeded to the king, and demanded the incarcerated chief, but met a decided refusal. Malachy hereupon replied, with a holy indignation and admirable courage, "Unjust prince, you act against the Lord, against me, and against yourself, in violating your covenant. If you practice dissimulation, I will not, for this man has trusted himself, to my faith; if he should be put to death, I have betrayed him, and am guilty of his blood. Doth it seem befitting our characters, that I should become a traitor, and you a prevaricator? Know, then, that neither I, nor one of my companions will taste any kind of food, until he who is in chains shall be liberated." Upon this, together with his companions, he enters an adjoining church, and pours forth a prayer, before the throne of Divine Grace, for the freedom of the captive, and a change of heart for the obdurate oppressor. During the whole of that day and the night following, the holy company remained there, in prayer and fasting. Word was brought the king of the exercises, at which they were engaged; but, like Pharaoh, his heart became the more hardened for a long time, until finding himself about to relent in his cruel purpose, and fearing the efficacy of the prayers offered up by the holy Bishop and his disciples, he prepared to fly from the place, lest his resolution should give way. The triumph of charity was however complete; the king granted the request of Malachy, and the captive was released from his chains.* But, a

Orainneach) is supposed to have been a gold-embroidered crozier; the *Matha-mor* means the great Gospel of St. Matthew; whilst the *Boban* of Caeimhghin was probably a bell, which had belonged to St. Caeimhghin or Kevin of Glendalough. The Dun-mor mentioned is identical with the present Dunmore, in a barony of the same name, in the county of Galway. *Ibid. nn.* (b. c. d. e.) Should the foregoing annalistic narration be identical, with the account here given, by St. Bernard, I am inclined to suppose that the first occasion of the quarrel, between Turlough O'Connor and Murchadh O'Melaghlin, must have arisen, whilst our Saint was Archbishop of Armagh, or perhaps previously: the solemn truce, at least, was concluded whilst Malachy occupied the Primatial see, in all probability, for one of the guarantees thereto was "the successor of Patrick." In fact, there are accounts in the Irish annals of hostilities having taken place, between both potentates, in the year 1133 and 1135, when St. Malachy was Archbishop of Armagh. At the former date, a solemn convention took place, near Usneach, in Westmeath, when a year's peace was concluded between Turlough O'Connor and Murchadh O'Melaghlin, which was ratified by hostages.

* Although I have stated, in the previous note, that possibly the events here recorded, by St. Bernard, had reference to certain incidents related in the Irish Annals, under the year 1143; yet, there is a subsequent entry under the year 1147, to the following effect. "Tadhg Ua Briain was released from his fetters, at the intercession of the bishops of Ireland, with the successor of Patrick, Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair, Muireadhach Ua Dubhthaigh, and Domhnall Ua Longargain, for he was taken prisoner while under their protection." *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four*

manifest punishment awaited the perfidious king, on account of his breach of faith, being deprived of vision, through the Almighty's permission, and by a just retribution, for the barbarous resolution he had taken.* Yet, it would seem, that when the king relented in his cruel and treacherous purpose, his sight was again restored. Such were the princes and people, amongst whom the lot of our Saint was cast, and it required no little exercise of his zeal and prudence, to resist, successfully, their injustice and ferocity.

CHAPTER XIII.

Usurpations of church lands, and ecclesiastical titles assumed by lay possessors.—Dissertation on the origin of Coarbs and Erenachs.—Opinions of various writers on the subject.—Termon lands.—Their immunities, tenantry and limitations.

Long before the time of St. Malachy, several abuses had prevailed, not only in Ireland, but in England and France, owing to the usurpation of church and monastic lands, by laymen. In the latter country, such persons were called *Abbacomites*, or *Abbicomites*. They were usually counts or noble laics, to whom monastic or ecclesiastical lands and benefices had been entrusted, and who held them, as it was termed, *per commendam*. Charles Martel is supposed to have been the first king of France, who appointed laymen to monastic and abbatial benefices, through a pretext of state necessity, and for the protection of these ecclesiastical possessions. But, in course of time, not only did these noble laics possess themselves of the ecclesiastical or monastic revenues; but, they even assumed the title of Abbots, and presumed to govern the monks, and rule over the affairs of the monasteries, thus

Masters. Vol. II. pp. 1082, 1083. I confess myself, at a loss, to decide positively upon the reference of St. Bernard's narrative to the events recorded in the Annals, under the year 1143, or to those, related at the later date, 1147.

* The latter portion of the account is inferred, rather than clearly derived, from these words of St. Bernard : "Init fugam, veritus homo carnalis ne si prope remaneret, orationis non posset sustinere virtutem. Quasi vero vel absconditum non inveniat, vel non perveniat ad remotum. Tu metas ponis, miser, orationibus sanctorum ? Num est oratio jacta sagitta, ut fugias a facie arcus ? Quo ibis a spiritu Dei, qui eam portat, et quo a facie ejus fugies ? Denique fugientem insequitur ; invenit latitantem : erisque cæcus, et non videns, ut melius videas, et intelligas, quoniam durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare. Denique senti vel nunc, quia sagittæ potentis acutæ pervenerunt ad te : quæ etsi resilierunt a corde, quia saxeum est, sed non ab oculis. Utinam per fenestras oculorum perveniat usque ad cor, et vexatio det intellectum cæcitati. Cernere erat Saulum denuo ad manus trahi, et duci ad Ananiam, ad ovem scilicet lupum, ut refunderet prædam. Refudit, et recepit visum, quod Malachias usque adeo ovis esset, ut sit misertus et lupo. Diligenter ex his adverte, lector, cum quibus habitatio Malachiæ, quales principes, et quales populi. Quomodo non et is frater fuit draconum, et socius struthionum ? Et ideo dedit ei Dominus virtutem calcandi super serpentes et scorpiones, alligare Reges eorum in compedibus, et nobiles eorum in manicis ferreis." See, *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XXVII.* §§. 58, 59, 60, *pp.* 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

subjected to their sway.* And, not content with this unjust usurpation of monastic property and titles, the Princes and nobles of France frequently transferred them, as heirlooms, to their successors. At a time much later than that in which our Saint lived, we find that Philip, King of Rome, in the year 1204, transferred the feudal rights of the abbey of Nivelle, and the church of St. Servatius (Tungrensis) to Henry Duke of Lotharingia and Brabant.† And, even Isabella, wife of the same Duke Henry, is styled, *Abbatissa secularis ecclesiæ Nivellensis*,‡ in a charter of later date. Yet, we are not to feel surprised, at these usurpations of church and monastic livings by laymen, when we find instances, in which bishops themselves did not hesitate to sequestrate the fruits of parish churches, as a dowry for their relations.§ Although the Sovereign Pontiffs and several Bishops exerted themselves for the removal of those abuses of church patronage, or rather spoliation, they do not appear to have entirely succeeded, until after the commencement of the third race of the French kings.

It is generally supposed, that these abuses had their origin, at the time the Saracens invaded and ravaged Sicily and other parts of Italy; and, that Pope Leo IV. gave a certain sanction to powerful laymen, who undertook the defence of church property, from which the bishops and clergy had been driven. From this commencement, however, various irregularities began to extend and proceed to greater lengths. It would seem, that not only the western, but even the eastern church, had reason to complain of these abuses,‖ about the period at which our Saint flourished.

Before this time, the introduction of such a mischievous system into Ireland can be shown from the universally admitted usurpation of the revenues of the church of Armagh, by married men, who also uncanonically exercised the jurisdiction appertaining to Archbishops. That there were several lay Abbots, both in Ireland and Wales, immediately after the time of St. Malachy, is manifest from the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis.¶ This writer complains of the prevalence of an evil custom, that had grown up in both countries, whereby certain men, who were powerful in their respective parishes or districts, having been at first constituted by the clergy the stewards, or rather the patrons and defenders of churches, in course of time, inso-

* Thus, in the V. Canon of the Council held at Cloveshovensis, in the year 747, we read: "Illud hoc quod Laicus homo, vel Imperator, vel Rex, aut aliquis Præfectorum, vel Comitum in sæculare potestate fultus sibi per violentiam rapiat Monasterium de potestate Episcopi, vel Abbatis, aut Abbatissæ, et incipiat ipse vice Abbatis regere, et habere sub se Monachos, et pecuniam possidere, qua fuit sanguine Christi comparata."

† Ex *cod. reg.* 10197. 2. 2. *fol.* 63. v., quoted by Ducange.

‡ In Chart. ann. 1267. ex eod. cod. fol. 35. r°. *Ibid.*

§ "Hujusce abusus, præter alia, testi est charta ann. 1219. in Chartul. Campan. fol. 410, col. 1: *Episcopus Pampilionensis erat tunc et est publice excommunicatus pro eo quod . . . . quasdam neptes suas de bonis ecclesiarum parrochialium maritavit, dando marito cujusdam neptis suæ duas parrochiales ecclesias in dotem contra canonicas sanctiones.*" *Ducange's Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub voce Abbacomites.*

‖ See, *Ducange's Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub vocibus, Abbacomites, Commenda*, 3.

¶ *Itinerarium Cambriæ. L.* 11. *c.* 4.

lently usurped certain privileges, and appropriated to their own uses the lands and possessions of the ecclesiastics. To the latter, they only left the altars, tithes and dues; and even these, they often assigned to their sons or kinsmen, who were clerics. And, these patrons, or rather spoilers of the church, presumed to call themselves abbots, assuming a title which did not rightfully appertain to them, no more than did the revenues, which their avarice converted to their own private emolument. So far as tithes were concerned, Giraldus must have reference solely to Wales, for in Ireland, they were not known before his time. The evil custom, reprobated by Cambrensis, prevailed in Ireland, especially in the northern province; and seems to have derived its origin from the frequent internecine contests between petty kings and chieftains, and from the spirit of irreligion and injustice they were sure to engender.

From an early period of our national history, we may date the origin of those classes of persons, designated, *Coarbs* or *Corbes* and *Erenachs*. The former word is found written *comhorba* in Irish, and Colgan observes, that its etymology denotes a farm-tenant, or holder of a farm, patrimony or field. He says, that it is derived from *Comh*, which has the force of the Latin *con*, and *forba*, which signifies a farm, field or patrimony.* But, in every instance, amongst our ancient writers, the word *comhorba* is used to express a successor in a bishopric or other ecclesiastical dignity.† Wherefore, in his own time, it happened that certain persons, for the most part seculars, were called *comhorbans*, because they held possession of fields and farms, which formerly belonged to the rich abbeys. Colgan conjectures, that one or other of these opinions must be allowed, for their assumption of the name. According to some, the ancestors of these families, so designated, must have voluntarily devoted themselves and their lands to the protection and jurisdiction of the Abbeys and Monasteries, from

* According to Vallancey, "The word Corba is a corruption of Cobhorba, i.e. tribute-land, or land endowed to the church, or any other service. Cobh signifies rent, or tribute, and orba is land; hence Corba Talmhuin, signifies also a parcel of land, for which a rent or tribute is to be paid.

"Comhorban, is compounded of the word Comh, signifying a ward, protector, or preserver, and orban, a patrimony, hence Comhorban signified a successor, that is, the ward of a certain patrimony; this title was not originally confined to the church or clergy: it often occurs in the Brehon laws, meaning an heir, and Bean-Comhorban is a dowager." *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. Vol. I. No. II. p.* 131. Vallancey has there observed, that although Ware, Spellman, Du Cange and Harris have attempted to explain the meaning of lands called Corban, Comorban, Errenach and Tearmon; yet, the subject was one they did not sufficiently understand.

† Elsewhere he says: "Item vox comorb, seu juxta vocis etymon, com-forba, quæ derivatur a com .i. con, cum vel simul; et forba, id est, territorium, prædium, districtus, &c. licet ex sua etymologia comprædianum, comprædiarcum, vel ejusdem prædii, terræ, seu districtus Dominium significet; usu tamen evenit, quod comorba sen comorbanus idem sit ac successor in eadem dignitate Ecclesiastica, vel verius in eadem Cathedra vel Monasterio. Nullos enim deprehendimus vocari Comorbanos, nisi qui alicui sancto in regimine alicujus Cathedræ, vel Abbatiæ, vel saltem in domo territorii talis Ecclesiæ, successit. Sic per Comorbanum S. Patricii, intelligitur Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus, per Comorbanum S. Columbæ, Abbas Hiensis vel Dorensis, et sic de aliis." *Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga. Appendix VII. ad Acta S. Patricii. Pars. III. p.* 293.

which their titles were derived. Again, the name may have its origin from the fact, that ecclesiastical property fell into the hands of certain laics, who first usurped the title of Abbot or Bishop, relative to said monasteries, and that they afterwards transmitted the title of *Comhorban* to their descendants.* Sir James Ware observes, that *Corba*, *Comorba*, *Corban*, or *Comorban*, as variously read, according to some authorities, signifies a fellow-Bishop, whence they think it is barbarously contracted into that name; whilst others are of opinion, that *Comfurbach* signifies in Irish a joint-tenant, and joint-possessor of the same land.† Ussher says, that *Confurbach* in Irish, Latinized *Converbius*, having the meaning *Conterraneous*, is a detortion by some of the Irish, of the term *Corbe*.‡ But, in this supposition, he is mistaken. He maintains, that *Corbe* is probably the same as *Chorepiscopus*, or *Archipresbiter*, and that the *Chorepiscopi* and *Corbes* were originally the same class of persons; although the name and dignity of *Chorepiscopus* was unknown to the ruder Irish.§ Sir John Davis says, that he could not learn if the name of *Corbe* had any signification in the Irish tongue; but, he observes, that some called him *Converbius*, in Latin, whilst such as were "of best understanding" called him *Plebanus*, giving as a reason for the latter title, "quia plebi ecclesiasticæ

* See, *Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, Prima Vita S. Patricii. n.* 8. *p.* 8. "Colgan has these words in a note to a passage, in which the successors of St. Fiech of Sletty are called his *comhorbans*; and we have seen over and over the Archbishops of Armagh styled comorbans of St. Patrick, the comorbans of Columbkill, of Finian of Clonard, Barr of Cork, &c., &c. This title is often translated *heres*, which signifies not only an heir, but an owner or possessor, apparently the primitive meaning of *heres*, like that of the German word *herr*. Thus Ussher has (*Prim. p.* 860) from the Annals of Ulster; "*Duo heredes S. Patricii, nempe Forannanus—et Dermitus quievernnt.*" The Four Masters (*ap.* Tr. Th. p. 295.) call them *comorbans* of St. Patrick. It is usually joined with the name of the founder of a church; thus we read of the comorbans of St. Patrick, of Columbkill, of Adamnan, not as abbot of Hy, but as founder of Raphoe, of St. Iarlath of Tuam, of Comgall, &c. Yet sometimes it occurs united with the name of a church, as the *comorban of Inniscatthy*, the *comorban of the church of St. Brigid of Armagh*, a title given (*Tr. Th. p.* 299.) to Gormgal Laighsech, who died in 1085. And hence we see, that this name was used not only for bishops and abbots, but likewise became gradually extended to persons holding minor ecclesiastical dignities." *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. Chap. XXVI.* §. *IX. n.* 63. *p.* 81.

† See, *Antiquitates Hibernicæ. Cap. XVII.* §. 1.

‡ See, *Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. Vol.* 1. "In the Irish annals the name is written thus, Comrba, or Comhurba, when the first mention of a Corbe that I find is at the 858th year from Christ's nativity, or 859 from his incarnation, after the computation of the church of England; then it is recorded, 'that 'O'Carrol king of Ossory, assisted with other kings, brought his army into the field 'against the king of Taraughe; but Imfeathna, Patrick's Corbe, and Imsuarlech 'Finno his Corbe, interposing themselves, O'Carrol was persuaded to yield to St. 'Patrick and his Corbe.' So in the same annals, at the year of our Lord 920, or 921 after the common account, is noted the death of Moenach Mac Siadhaiel, St. Comhgall his Corbe, the chief head (as he is there called) of all the learning or antiquities of Ireland." *No. II. pp.* 191, 192. The preceding extracts are from the printed treatise entitled, "Of the Original and First Institution of Corbes, Erenachs, and Termon Lands, written by JAMES USSHER, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, Anno 1609." We are informed, that this tract is in the Library of the College of Dublin, all in Ussher's own hand-writing, and signed by him, J. U. 1609.

§ *Ibid.*

præest." From one who had been a Brehon, and who had some skill in the civil and canon laws, Sir John Davis appears to have derived his information, that the *Corbe* was a prior or president of a collegiate church, and that he not only possessed a considerable quantity of glebe land, of which the tenants and occupiers were called *termon-men*, having privilege of clergy ; but, that the *Corbe*, moreover, had some rectories appropriate, whereof he had that part of tithes, which belonged to the parson, and had withal the presentation of the vicarages. He had always a place or seat in a mother church, where he had a certain number of priests serving with him. In the Cathedral church, he had a stall in the choir, and a voice in the chapter.*

It will be seen, from the testimony of Colgan, already given, that the *Comorbans* were for the most part laymen, in his time ; although, no doubt, from his words we must infer, that some of them were in holy orders.† Harris tells us, that the *Comorbanship* was collative by

* Sir John Davis adds :—" This Corbeship is named a dignity in the register at Rome ; for all dignities in cathedral churches, and all benefices of value in this kingdom are contained in a register at Rome, and the Pope at this day doth collate unto them, and until this day the persons presented have enjoyed the benefices in these mere Irish countries by colour of the pope's collation." *Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, written in the year* 1606. *Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. Vol. I. No. II. pp.* 159, 160.

† And Sir John Davis : " Lastly, this Corbeship was in a manner hereditary ; for though the Corbe were even in orders, yet was he in those Irish countries usually married, or if he were not married he had children, and after his death, if any of his sons were qualified with learning, he was chosen by the dean and chapter to be Corbe ; and if none of his sons were capable, another of that sept or surname was chosen, without doubt. These Corbeships being in the nature of collegiate churches are vested in the crown by the statute of dissolution of monasteries, and accordingly some of them have been reduced into charge ; but there are yet many whereof no inquisition hath been found, but concealed, as detained by the Irishrie unto this day. And that your lordship may perceive I weave not this web out of my own brain, but that I have authority for it, which I deliver, I will here insert a certificate in Latin made unto me by an Irish scholar, whose opinion I required in this matter ; which I have now by chance among my papers ; for the most part of these things I have set down out of my memory, being now at Waterford, and having left the notes of one former journey at Dublin.

" The scholar's opinion was this :

Corbonatus, sive Plebanatus, dignitas est, et modo ad regem pertinet, sed antea ad papam ; in matrici ecclesia debet necessario esse, initiatus in sacris ordinibus, omnesque decimas pertinentes ad hanc debet habere, et beneficia adjuncta huic ipsius sunt, eorumque conferentiam habet et presentationem : dictum hoc nomen, quia populo et plebi ecclesiasticæ matricis ecclesiæ præfuit ; certum numerum sacerdotum quasi collegialum debet habere secum ; primum stallum in sua ecclesia habet ; habet etiam stallum vacuum in ecclesia cathedrali ; et vocem in omni capitulo tam publico quam privato : inscribitur Romano Registro, adeoque dignitas est.

" Of these Corbeships, the best in these parts was at Clonys in the county of Monaghan, which M'Mahon himself procured to be conferred upon his eldest son, being but a boy in the time of the late rebellion. It was long before granted to Sir Henry Duke for years, and is now in the possession of Sir Francis Rush, who married one of Sir Henry Duke's daughters. There is another at Derough in Fermanagh, which is likewise brought into charge. There are others in O'Rourke's country, others in Upper Ossory, and in Ormond, and in many other places which are not yet discovered." *Ibid. pp.* 160, 161. In *Ducange's Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub voce*, CORBA, CORBANUS, we are told, " Apud Hibernos idem sonat, quod apud nos Plebanus, Decanus ruralis, Archipresbyter, Chorepiscopus, unde et nomen sortitum videri quidam censent. Isidorus Moscovius de Majestate

the Bishop, in whose see it lay, or by the Metropolitan, in case of vacancy, and that the manner of investiture was by the delivery of a ring. Though the *Comorbanship* was collative, yet the collation was only made to one of the same sept. The same writer adds, that *Rector* and *Comorban* were sometimes used, as synonymous terms, and that the Comorbanship was considered in the light of a rectory. For these statements, he cites as proof a record from the Registry of Nicholas Flemming, Archbishop of Armagh.* We have already seen that according to the account, furnished by the Irish scholar, to Sir John Davis, the *Comorbanship* referred to the presidency of collegiate churches. The name *plebani*, corresponding with that of *pievano*, in the North of Italy, was peculiar to the provosts of such churches. It is probable, says Dr. Lanigan, that this description of *Corbes* were the heads of churches, which had been formerly small bishoprics, and who, as they could not be called bishops, were distinguished by that name. There were other corbes, not in holy orders, and usually married, although Davis seems to say, that all the corbes had assumed some ecclesiastical order. It is possible, he meant, that they had been tonsured. There are few instances of the Irish bishops being called *Comorbans*, in our annals, after the time of the synod of Kells, in which the episcopal sees were defined; and, so far as the regular abbots were concerned, this title also fell into disuse. The laymen, who had usurped old ecclesiastical livings, belonging to decayed or neglected monasteries or churches, appropriated the title of *Corbes* or *Comorbans* to themselves, as we find in various passages of the Inquisitions in the Rolls office, Dublin, especially in those having reference to the province of Ulster. Several of these *Corbs* possessed even the lands belonging to episcopal sees, whilst they payed certain mensal dues to the bishops, who did not hold the lands in demesne. It is certain, the *Corbes* or *Comorbans* were not in a general way, as some writers would insinuate, the substitutes for *Chorepiscopi*; but, that they were persons holding church land, which had formerly belonged to ecclesiastical dignitaries of various ranks. And, it would seem, that this system had its origin, before the times in which St. Malachy flourished.†

militantis Ecclesiæ. lib. I. cap. 13." The latter quotation appears to have been a mistake, on the part of the editors of Ducange, as their information of the meaning of *Corba*, *Corbanus*, rendered *Plebanus*, was rather derived from the Irish scholar's account, given to Sir John Davis. This has also been re-published, by Spelman, in his *Glossary*, at the word *Corba*.

* *Harris' Ware. Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland. Chap. XXXV. §. I. p.* 233.

† See, *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI. §. IX. n.* 63. *pp.* 81, 82. The Rev. Mr. Reeves says, that the word *Comharba*, like *vicarius*, denotes in a primary sense the successor or deputy of a *person*; and has this signification usually attached to it. But, in some instances, it signifies the minister of a place. And Spelman observes of the Irish term Corba, "eminentioris loci fuit, atque idem qui Decanus Ruralis, *Plebanus*, Archipresbyter, seu Chorepiscopus." (Glossar. Archælo., p. 151.) The Rev. Mr. Reeves, also remarks, that "most of the ancient sees of Ireland appear to have had a monastic origin, the founders being either bishops, or presbyters, who associated bishops with them in the government of their houses. But in such cases the memory of the founder was revered more as the father or first abbot than as bishop, and hence it was that the term Comarba, *Coworba*, which was applied to a successor in the government of

The Rev. Mr. Reeves seems to have been the first to advance the opinion that the term *Coworba*, was applied only to the successor of an abbot, and not to the successor of a bishop. He also maintains, that while there were occasional breaks in the episcopal line, the abbatial succession had been carefully maintained, in the Irish Church. An investigation, referring to the latter statements, would call for a considerable share of laborious research, and would occupy a space disproportioned to the subjects, which more immediately demand enquiry. We shall only examine, whether it be certain, that the term *Coworba* was only applied to an abbatial incumbent, and not to the successor of a bishop, as referring solely to the episcopal character and dignity.

In a very learned work, lately published,* there are several evidences, collected from various writers, on the subject of the *Corbes*. But, whilst the information, supplied by the Irish Annals, to a certain extent, serves to illustrate the subject; yet, a great deal of uncertainty and obscurity still exists, relative to the exact nature and origin of their office. A favourite theory—adopted from the statements of the Rev. Mr. Reeves—by the writer of the work in question, seems to be, that the *Comorban* or *Corbe* was always considered the successor or representative of the original Abbot of a place, and that the designation had never been used as applying to the Bishop of the same locality, previous to the commencement of the twelfth century.† The opinion expressed by this learned writer is, that the *Coarbs* or *Corbes* of the old Irish Churches appear to have been, doubtless, nothing else, *in their first original*, than the principal ecclesiastics, the rulers and governors, of the different religious establishments, to which they respectively belonged. He supposes them to have been the successors in office of the several eminent clerics, who had founded these institutions; and that, as such, they generally united in their own persons, the dignity of abbot, with the order of bishop or presbyter. As such, also, they enjoyed that full and unlimited control, appertaining to the abbot, for the time being, under the monastic system, over all landed or other property, and over all the persons, belonging to their several foundations. This jurisdiction had been originally assigned to the first founders of their several churches.‡ They were regarded as the *heirs* of the first founders, such term being used in the *Annals of Ulster*, in different instances, to express the same relationship, as is implied in the other word, *Coarb*. Examples are offered by way of illustration. The inferences to be drawn, from what has been laid down by the Rev. Mr. King, would induce us to suppose, that he wished to convey the impression to the minds of his readers of

the institution, had reference to his abbatial, not episcopal, office." See, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore. Appendix*, A. *p.* 136. *n.* (g) *p.* 145. K. *p.* 209. In the same learned work, there are references to *Corbes*, at *pp.* 97, 145, 152, 153, 241, 242, 256, 305, 306, and 361. There are also various allusions to Herenachs, at *pp.* 106, 112, 114, 145, 161, 162, and 209.

* *The Rev. Robert King's Memoir Introductory to the early History of the Primacy of Armagh. Armagh*, 1854, *fol.*

† See *Ibid. p.* 27.

‡ "These are the '*Sancti patres*' of the Limavaddy Jurors, see p. 7. sup.—But '*Sancti patres*' was no Irish appellation.—It was probably a translation of the Irish word for '*holy abbots*;' *ab.*, signifying father." *Ibid. p.* 18. *note.*

the term *Coarb* being only applicable to the successor of an abbot, or founder of a religious establishment. Even, when in the case of the same individual, uniting the episcopal and abbatial offices, in his own person, being called *Coarb*, it is stated that the title of *Bishop* was a casual distinction, not necessarily implied in the name of *Coarb*, nor common, by any means, to all holders of the *Comorbanship*.* In subsequent passages of his work, the same writer refers to the *Coarbs*, and furnishes a considerable amount of evidence regarding them,† but by no means satisfactorily establishes the position assumed, that the word had no application to the sole office and dignity of Bishop. On the contrary, sufficient evidence is furnished, in the Rev. Mr. King's own work, to shew that the term *Coarb* had application to the episcopal office, as distinct from the abbatial. For, the Irish Annals, quoted by himself, record in one particular instance, at A.D. 590, "the appointment of Gregory the Great to be '*Coarb of Peter, the Apostle*,' i.e. *Bishop*, or Pope, *of Rome*,"‡ Again, at the year 1148, St. Malachy is called "Legate of the Coarb of Peter," and the same title is afterwards applied to him, where his name is mentioned in the Annals, at the year 1170.§

Now, it will appear evident, that the *Coarb* of Peter must have been considered by the Irish Annalists, as the successor of the Prince of the Apostles, solely in his episcopal character; for, they were well aware that abbatial foundations had their date of establishment, long subsequent to the time of St. Peter's death. It will not suffice to maintain, that the title of *Coarb* had been applied to the Roman Pontiff, because of his having succeeded the first founder of the Church at Rome. In his capacity of Apostle, and consequently of Bishop, St. Peter must have been pre-eminently distinguished, amongst the primitive Christians. That jurisdiction, appertaining to him, in both of these capacities, must have been uppermost in the minds of our antient writers, when applying the term *Coarb* to his successors, in the Roman Church. As the consideration of this particular topic refers solely to a matter of fact, having no especial importance, in a controversial point of view; it may safely be asserted, that until better evidences are produced, there exist no just grounds for supposing the term *Coarb* to bear any restricted application to a peculiar class of ecclesiastical persons.

The *Erenachs* are supposed to have been of an inferior rank, and to have been far more numerous than the *Corbes*. In the published Inquisitions of the Rolls office, frequent mention is made of *Herenaghs* and of *Herenagh-lands*. This substance of the information, there found, regarding *Erenachs*, is as follows, according to testimony, taken by commissioners, from the oaths of jurors of various northern counties. Thus, the jurors of the County of Donegall make oath and say, that in antient times, there were divers lands given by temporal lords to saints or holy men, for celebrating divine service and praying

* *Ibid. p.* 18.

† See, *Ibid. pp.* 22, 26, 27, 28, 37, 50, 51, 60, 61, 63, 65, 66, 67, 81, 92, 112.

‡ See, *Ibid. p.* 17.

§ See, *Ibid. pp.* 103, 109.

for their souls' health. These saints or holy men, dedicating themselves only to prayer and the service of God, for their greater ease, ordained and constituted several *Herenaghs* to manure and occupy these lands. Those *Herenaghs* usually constituted a whole sept, and the chief man of the sept was named the *Herenagh*, who, in successively enjoying those lands, paid certain rents to the saints. Afterwards, the Pope having appointed bishops to succeed the saints in those lands, the *Herenachs* paid such rents and duties to the bishops, as they or their sept formerly paid to the saints. That they were not to be displaced, by the bishops, when paying the antient and accustomed rents due to them, " as they doe nowe in those latter daies, and that the said herenaghes are to be named by the said bushopps, ever sithence, who take an income and an oathe of fidelity to themselves of the herenaghes." One sept-herenagh being dead, the bishop is to ordain another sept-herenagh in his stead, with the advice of the gravest men of the church; which *herenagh* is always to be the most antient of the sept, and not to be chosen hereditarily. Neither are the said lands inheritable to the chief *herenagh*, alone; but, the whole sept of the said *herenagh* are equally to inhabit with him, and have their shares of the land, in proportion to their several abilities to pay the bishop his rent. Among them, the *herenagh* had a freedom above the rest, the nature of which is not particularly understood.*

The jurors of Fermanagh certify, upon oath, that the *Herenagh-lands* were first given by the temporal lords to certain saints, free from any duty or exaction, whatever; to the end, that the said saints should maintain the church, celebrate Divine service, and keep hospitality. Of the aforesaid saints, some were confessors, some deacons, and some virgins. These saints selected some septs, whom they most respected, and gave to every sept a proportion of land, to be inherited equally by them and their posterity, for ever, to the same uses and intents, and to maintain the same rights, for which the said lands were formerly given to the saints. Thereupon, one or more of the said septs had been placed in every parish, for the better maintenance of the church, and keeping of hospitality, according to the obligation imposed on the saints. The said septs, or the saints before them, desirous of maintaining the church and the liberties thereof, which they enjoyed, voluntarily gave certain pensions and other duties to the bishop, within whose diocese they lived, to the end, the said bishop should protect them and their liberties. Until the said pensions or duties were thus voluntarily given, the bishop never had, or claimed to have to do, either with the land or its tenements; but, thenceforth, the bishop took upon himself the protection of the said septs and their lands, and gave to every chief of a sept the name of *Herenagh*, the land being called *Herenagh-land*. The *Herenagh* himself was to be first elected by the individuals of the sept, amongst themselves, and to be confirmed by the bishop. If the said sept could not agree in their choice, then the election belonged to the bishop, dean and chapter. The bishop always confirmed the *Herenagh*

* See, *Inquisitionum in officio Rotulorum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ asservatarum Repertorium. Vol. II. Ultonia. Appendix V. Donegall.*

elected; and for that confirmation received fees and duties, similar to those paid for the instituting of a clerk into a benefice. Yet, the inheritance and sole property of the land remained in the sept; and if, at any time, the sept were quite extinct, the bishop had no power to detain the lands in his own possession. Nor could he dispose of them to any other person, but only to such a sept, whereof he could choose another *Herenagh* to perform those duties and rights in the church, that the former *Herenagh* had fulfilled. In that case also, the said bishop could not alter or increase his former rent, pension or duties. The sept had the power to make any part of their lands free, by paying the bishop duly out of the rest; and, if the *Herenagh* or any other of his sept had made a forfeiture of his portion, it came not to the bishop, but was to be divided amongst the whole sept.*

* *Ibid. VI. Fermanagh.* In the succeeding Inquisition, taken at Cavan, on the 25th day of September, 1609, we find it stated: "And touchinge the originall of the termon land, the said jurors doe uppon their oathes finde that before the distinguishinge of parishes in these partes, there were certen religious men, in nature of hermittes, whoe, sequestringe themselves from all worldly business, did severallie retire themselves into several private places, where they severally betooke themselves to praier, and to other godlie actes for their soules' health; and in testimony of their zeale and devocion, every of them for the most parte erected a church, and that to every of the said religious persons the temporall lordes gave a severall porcion of land, free for ever, to thintent that the said religious persons should maintaine hospitallitie, pray for the soule's health of the said lordes, and repaire and keepe the said churches, and otherwise to advaunce the service of God in that place whereon hee lived; and that the said religeous persons ceasinge, every one of them made choice of the most sufficient person about, and to that person and his sept he gave his porcion of land, to be inherited by him and his sept for ever, to the same uses and intentes for which the said temporall lordes first gave them to the said religeous persons, and that to the said landes weare annexed certen liberties and freedomes, as sanctuarie and the like, for which cause the said land was called termon, or free and protected land, and the chiefe tennant thereof in some places called corbe, and in some places herenagh; and that afterwardes, when the temporall lordes in their severall warres, and uppon other occasions, began to charge and tax the said termon landes with divers exacions and imposicions, the said corbes and herenaghs fledd unto the bushopp of the dioces wherein they lived, and besought his protection against the wronges and injuries of the temporall lordes, and therefore gave voluntarily unto the bushopp a rent or pencion out of their landes, and sometimes they besought the protection of such of the temporall lordes as they thought would defend them against the rest, and unto such temporall lordes some of the corbes and herenaghes gave certen rentes or pencions out of their landes, untill which time the bushopp had never any thinge to doe either with the landes or with the tennantes there, but from thencefourth the busshopp undertook the protecion of the said herenaghs and of their landes, and in proces of time tooke on him a power to confirme every corbe and herenagh in their land, and uppon the alteracion of every corbe or herenagh tooke of them certen duties, whereunto the said corbes and herenaghes voluntarilie yielded, the rather to continue themselves in the said bushopp's protection, and that the corbe and herenagh was ever to be elected by the sept amongst themselves, and was comonlie thauncientest of the sept, but if the sept could not agree in the electon, then the bushopp and the whole clergie assembled and did elect one of the same sept, but still the bushopp confirmed and allowed him, and that if the whole sept weare at anye time extinct, the bushopp could not either detaine the said land in his owne handes, or dispose of them to any particular person, unless it weare to another sept, out of which the newe herenagh or corbe should be created to inherit the said land, to the same uses for which it was formerlie given, which the said bushopp himselfe could not doe without thassent of the whole clergie, and that then hee could neither alter nor increase his rent or pencion, and that if the corbe or herenagh, or any of the sept under him, had made a for-

Nearly conformable to the foregoing accounts are those of Sir John Davis, in his letter to the Earl of Salisbury, written in the year 1606. He tells us, that there were few parishes of any extent, in the North of Ireland, in which there dwelt not an *Erenach*. The origin of this officer of the church is thus accounted for. When a lord or gentleman undertook the building of a church, he first dedicated a good portion of land to some saint or other, whom he selected as his patron. Then he founded the church, and called it by the name of that saint, and also gave the land, to some clerk, and to his heirs for ever, himself not being in orders. The object of this donation included the obligation of keeping the church clean and in good repair, the maintenance of hospitality, and the giving of alms to the poor, for the soul's health of the founder. This person and his heirs possessed the title of Erenach. The *Erenach* was obliged to make a weekly commemoration of the founder of the church;* he had received tonsure, but took no higher orders. He had a voice in the chapter, when its members consulted about their revenues; and he paid a certain yearly rent to the bishop, besides a fine upon the marriage of each of his daughters, which was called a *Loughinipy*.† He also gave a subsidy to the bishop, on the entry of the latter, into his bishopric.‡

feiture of any parcell of the said land, that came not to the bushopp, but was partable amongst the rest of the sept, and that the difference betwixt a corbe and a herenagh is this, that the corbe, called in latin pleibanus, is head of a greater familie or sept, and sometimes of severall septes, and hath sometime under him several herenaghs, but the herenaghe was heade or chiefe of a smaler number of people, and seldom had under him more than his owne sept.—In witness whereof, as well the said commissioners, as alsoe the said jurors, have to this parte of the said inquisicion remaininge with the said commissioners, sett their seales the daie and yeare first above written.—*Arthure Chichester—Tho.' Dublin, canc'—H. Armachan'—George Derrien', &c.—Tho. Ridgeway—H. Winch—Ol. St. John—Garrilt Moore—Jo. Davis—W. Parsons.* "Delibat' fuit in canc' Hibnie, sexto die januarii anno regni Regis Jacobi, Anglie, Francie et Hibnie septimo, et Scotie quadragesimo tertio." See also, a nearly similar statement, from Inquisitions taken at Londonderry, on the 1st of September, 1690, and at Limavaddy, August 30th, 1609, in the *Ordnance Memoir of the Parish of Templemore. Part II.* § 1. *p.* 20. Also, the Inquisition taken at Dungannon, in 1609, quoted in *Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry, n.* (k.) *p.* 5. *Edited by the Rev. Wm. Reeves, D.D.*

* By this we are to understand, most probably, that certain masses were to be celebrated each week, for the repose of the soul of the original founder. If the Erenach himself were not in priest's orders, he was obliged, no doubt, to procure the services of one or more priests, for that purpose. It is probable, also, that this was one of the indispensable conditions, on which he held the office, and enjoyed the immunities of his Erenachy.

† Vallancey says, that the literal meaning of the term *luach impighthe*, means the *fee of the petition*, that is, the fee paid by the Erenach to his bishop, on petitioning for liberty for his daughter to marry. See, *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. Vol. I. No. II. Advertisement, pp.* 133, 134.

‡ Sir John Davis adds: "The certainty of which duties appear in the bishop's register; and these duties grew unto the bishop, first, because the Erenach could not be created, nor the church dedicated without the consent of the bishop. We are yet doubtful whether these lands possessed by the Erenach be yet reduced to the crown; because the statute of Chaunteries is not yet enacted in this kingdom; but certain it is, that these men possess all the glebe lands which belongeth to such as have care of souls." See, *Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. Vol. I. No. II. pp.* 162, 163.

I am at a loss to account for the conclusion, at which Dr. Lanigan arrives, when he attributes to Sir John Davis the opinion, that an *Erenach* derived from his office the right of a *juspatronatus* or advowson. In the foregoing sentences, I have given the substance of Sir John Davis' remarks on this subject, from which it will be seen that there are no just grounds for Dr. Lanigan's statement. The latter writer remarks, that although the right of *juspatronatus* or advowson might have been sometimes attached to the office of *Erenach*, yet this was not generally the case. Neither do I think Dr. Lanigan correct, when he quotes a portion of Sir John Davis' letter, and then states, that he goes on the principle of the *Erenach* holding the lands, in virtue of a *juspatronatus*, founded on grants made to churches, by their ancestors.* For Sir John Davis seems to say, that when the lord or gentleman, who originally founded the church had not received any orders, the care of the church had been transferred by him to some clerk, who was called an *Erenach*, and to the heirs of this latter, but he has mentioned nothing whatever, regarding *juspatronatus* or advowson.

Ussher maintains, that *Erinach* and *Archidiaconus* have the same signification; the name being written *Eirenneach* or *Oirchindeach*, in the Irish language. He supposes, that as in the early period of the church, the deacons had the disposal of ecclesiastical money, and the care of providing for the poor and strangers; we may imagine a class of antient *Archidiaconi*, who in degree were inferior to the *Presbiteri*. By these *Archidiaconi*, he does not mean the *Archdeacon*, of higher rank, that exercised jurisdiction, under the bishop; but, a class corresponding with the *Erenachs*, who were numerous in every diocese. Ussher also imagines, that these were admitted to the *first tonsure*, and to *deaconship*, although not to the *priesthood*. From the Register of Clogher, and other records, according to Ussher, it would seem, that the *Erenachs* held church lands, by grants from the Bishop, Dean and Chapter, which, by order, were still to be renewed, both at the first entry of every *Erenach*, and upon the consecration of every new bishop. The *Erenachs* were also bound, to manure the church lands, to reside upon them, and in no manner to alienate them to any stranger. Out of the profits of these lands, they were obliged to maintain hospitality, to keep up their part of the fabric of the churches, and to pay a yearly rent to the bishops. We are told, by Ussher, that they retained to themselves a certain portion of free land, which they called *Homorem villæ*, and this was not chargeable with any rent. In support of the foregoing opinions, evidences were found by Ussher, in turning over the Registers of Armagh, which, through the opportunities afforded by his uncle, the lord Primate, he had been enabled to peruse. One of these documents contained the grant of an *Erenachy*, made by Milo, Archbishop of Armagh, being dated at Down, the 21st of November, 1365. The grant was made to William and Arthur MacBryn, sons of Master Arthur MacBryn, of certain lands belonging to the church of

* See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI. § IX. n.* 63, *p.* 84. In an Inquisition, taken in 1603, I find a concession made to O'Cane. "*arenaco* [herenaco] *sive magistro* prædictæ ecclesiæ," viz. of Anagh. See, *Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry. n.* (b.) *p.* 29. *Edited by the Rev. Wm. Reeves.*

Kilmore, with all their appendages, and the full right of *Erenachy*, so long as the aforesaid grantees would be acceptable and obedient to the Archbishop, or to his successors and ministers, and to the church of Armagh. These lands were to be cultivated by them, and not to be alienated, in whole or in part, to any other extrinsic layman. The aforesaid tenants were to pay one mark and eight pence sterling, on the feast of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and on that of All Saints, in equal portions, together with the accustomed services due from them.*

* Nearly similar to the foregoing conditions are those subjoined, in a document, containing a grant of certain lands, in the diocese of Dromore, to an Erenach, made during a vacancy in that see, A. D. 1427, by John Swayne, Archbishop of Armagh. There is a confirmation of an *Erenachy*, granted by John Mey, Archbishop of Armagh, A. D. 1455, to one whose ancestors had formerly enjoyed the same office. After giving these documents, at full length, Ussher continues : "By these evidences (and others that might be produced out of the register of Clogher, which for brevity I omit) may easily be collected in what sort, and upon what terms these church-lands have been held in latter days. At the first beginning, I conceive, the same order to have been here, which commonly was used in other parts of Christendom, that the tythes and profits of temporal lands appertaining unto every church, were taken up by a common receiver, and distributed into four equal portions, one whereof was allotted to the bishop, another to his clergy, the third upon the reparation of the fabric, and the fourth towards the relief of the poor and strangers. This was the custom of the churches of Italy, as may be seen in the epistles of Simplicius, Gelasius, and Gregorius, bishops of Rome (alledged by Gratian, Caus. 12. quest. 2.) The same was also received in the churches of France and Germany, as appeareth by the letter of Gregory the second ad Carolum Martellum, and ad clerum et plebem Thuringiæ ; by the 7th canon of the Council of Worms, et lib. 7. capitular. ca. 290. Lastly, Gregory the 1st making answer to the first question of Austin, bishop of Canterbury, " Mos sedis apostolicæ est (saith he) ordinatis episcopis precepta tradere, "ut de omni stipendio quod accidit, quatuor debent fieri portiones : una, viz. epis- "copo et familiæ, propter hospitalitatem atque succeptionem ; alia clero ; tertia pau- "peribus ; quarta ecclesiis reparandis." In Spain the division of the church revenues was made into three parts, as is plain by divers councils held there ; and namely, the 1st of Braccara, cap. 25. "Placuit, ut de rebus ecclesiasticis tres æque "fiant portiones, i. e. una episcopi ; alia clericorum, tertia in reparatione, vel in "luminariis ecclesiæ." And the Council of Tarragona, Can. 8. "Quia tertia pars "ex omnibus, per antiquam traditionem, ut accipiatur ab episcopis, novimus statu- "tum." In the present state of our northern churches, if we well mark it, some traces of these ancient orders may be observed. For first in the canons which have been recited, this may be noted, that in these days the parishioners were not tied to the reparation of their churches ; but the charge thereof was to be defrayed out of the revenues of the church. "Ex omnibus istis Capitulis collige (saith the glosse upon "the decrees) laicos non esse compellendos ad reparationem fabricæ, sed tantum cle- "ricos." Now this old order, which every other where is grown out of use, remaineth still in the North. "We find (say the jurors of the County of Cavan) that the par- "son, vicar, and erenach, are to repair and maintain their proper parish church at "their own charge, out of their benefices and the Termon-land, unto which work the "parishioners did oftentimes voluntarily give their benevolence." Again, by the same canons the bishop was to have vel quartem, vel tertiam, secundum locorum diversitates, as Gratian noteth. And so (according to the diversity of places) the bishop enjoyeth his fourth in Connaught, and in the diocess of Clogher, as likewise in the diocese of Derry and Raphoe his third part, which also still retaineth the name of quarta & tertia episcopalis. The taking up of the collections, and distribution of the church profits into their several portions, was in those days the special charge of the archidiaconus, as may appear by the epistle of Gregory ad honoratum archidiaconum Salonitanum ; and of Isidore ad Lindifredum Cordubensem episcopum, thus describing the office of an archdeacon. "Collectam pecuniam de com- "munione ipse accipit, et episcopo defert, et clericis proprias partes idem distribuit."

In his explanation of what is to be understood regarding the title and office of *Erenach*, Sir James Ware has chiefly followed the account of Ussher; while he observes, that others derive the term *Herenach* from the word *Hæreo*, because he adhered, as it were, to the bosom of the church. In Harris' Ware two of the grants of *Herenachy*, by the Archbishops of Armagh, are found translated into English, out of the Latin documents, extracted from the Registry of Clogher by Ussher, and which are published by Vallancey. From both of them, it will be seen, that the *Herenach* bound himself to observe certain conditions, services and duties, ordinary and extraordinary. These obligations, also, devolved on his heirs; and, if they failed to perform the conditions required, the Archbishop, with the assent of the Dean and Chapter of the Archdiocese, was empowered to revoke the previous agreement, and to dispose of the lands, let to the *Erenach*, saving the rights of all others. The *Erenach* was also subject to Cosheries, Refections and other incidental charges, due to the Bishop.*

Colgan has derived the Latin words, *Archenachus*, *Erenachus* or *Archidnechus*, so often found in our history, from the Irish word *Airchinneach*, or rather *Airchidneach*. He says, that these words have a signification, implying a person placed in power or presidency over all others, who possessed certain lands and farms, formerly belonging to the Church, and holding, as it were, the chief place amongst such tenants, yet subject to the bishop, after the manner of the *Corbes*. Yet, between the latter and the *Erenachs* this peculiar distinction existed. Those only were called *Corbes* or *Comorbans*, who presided over a district, formerly belonging to some old and celebrated monastery, or to an Episcopal See; whilst, the *Erenachs* were those, who held a precedency over other tenants, in the management of the lands and farms of a church, (probably less distinguished), whether it were a monastic establishment, or otherwise. From time immemorial, the latter were mere laymen; although, it might admit of doubt, that at the origin of their institution they held some dignity or faculties, annexed solely to the clerical or monastic state. The word *Erenachus* or *Archenachus*, or rather the Irish word *Airchindeach*, from which the former is derived, is of doubtful origin, it being uncertain whether it must be referred to a Greek, Latin or Irish root. Some there are—and amongst the rest Sir James Ware†—who suppose the foregoing words derived from the Latin terms, *Archidiaconus* or *Archidiacon*; and, if this were the case,

The archdeacon to this day is termed by the Irish, Erenach (as before I have declared,) and we find that this was one office of our Erenach, to be the bishop's collector, as in the Inquisition for the county of Donegal is particularly set down of O'Morreson the Erenach of the parish of Clonemanny, "that he was anciently accustomed to collect all the bishop's duties throughout the whole barony of Ennis-owen." See, *Ussher on the Original and first Institution of* CORBES, ERENACHS, *and* TERMON LANDS. *Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. Vol. I. No. II. pp.* 190 to 202.

* See, *Harris' Ware. Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland. Chap. XXXV. § II. pp.* 233 to 236.

† *De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ. Lib. I. cap. VII.* "Airenachus sive Erenachus, Hibernice Oirchindeach, Archidiaconi munere functus inde nomen accepit, non autem superioris generis, qui hodie sub Episcopo, jurisdictione fruitur: sed antiqui illius, qui præsbitero inferior pauperes & Xenodochia (diaconias inde appellata) curabat."

it ought rather be written *Airchidneach*, according to Colgan. Others, supposing them to be of Irish origin, say that they must be derived from *ar*, supra, and *cionn*, caput; so that he derived his appellation of *Airchinneach* from his office, as being a president or prefect over others. If their origin be traced to a Greek source, we may refer to the word *Ethnarchia*, which signifies a principate or prefectureship, amongst the the people, or from the word *Ethnarches*, which means a prince or prefect of the people.* The meaning, both in Irish and Greek, would thus seem to be derived from the nature of the office, known in Ireland, as being filled by the *Erenach*, for he was chief man or prefect of all the other tenants of a certain district, being esteemed the prince or head of his family. Nor is the Latin derivation of the word, already given, unsuited to the office and duty of the Erenach; for, by a special or hereditary custom, they were addicted to the practice of continuous hospitality, whether through choice or obligation. Colgan thought from this circumstance, it might have occurred, that at their first appointment to this precedency, they were Archdeacons, discharging the duties of hospitality, having been entrusted with the care of the poor; but, during the lapse of time, they might have degenerated, he supposed, into mere laymen, although, in the beginning, they possibly belonged to the clerical order. Yet, he would not undertake to pronounce on this matter, in a positive manner.†

We are told, however, that the terms *Coarb* and *Erenach* were frequently synonymous.‡ We also read of certain particular families

* Dr. Lanigan remarks, that this derivation of Colgan's from the Greek *ethnarches*, as if signifying *the head of a people*, is quite futile; whilst, he was obliged himself, sometimes, to translate it *archidiaconus*. See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI.* § *IX. n.* 63. *p.* 83.

† *Trias Thaumaturga. Appendix Quintus ad Vitam S. Brigidæ. Cap.* 2, *p.* 261. The following is Vallancey's derivation of the word: "Errenach, or Erreineach, is compounded of Err, noble, and Erineach, liberality; alluding to the lands appropriated or bestowed to the church: this officer was also named Arceineach, and Oirchindeach, the first expressly means, liberality to the body, and Oirchindeach implies providentia, which in ancient records signified provision of meat and drink. Hence, with the moderns, Errenach, Arceineach, and Oirchindeach, are synonymous names for Archdeacon, whose office it was to take care of the Church, its property and the indigent poor." *Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. Vol. I. No. II. p.* 132.

‡ This would appear to have been the case, from the confirmation of a grant to Nicholas O'Farrelly, one of the herenachs of the Bishop of Kilmore. This document is taken from Swayne's Registry, and dated the 19th of September, 1438. The following is an eutract: "Universis Christi fidelibus has literas visuris vel audituris Donatus Dei et Apostolicæ sedis gratia episcopus Triburnensis salutem in Domino æternam. Noverit universitas vestra quod cum per mortem bone memorie quondam Murani Offareallaich comurbani et principalis herenaci omnium terrarum nationis de Muntyrfareallaich eadem Comurbania ac herenacia de jure et de facto ad præsens vacaverit. Nos antedictus Donatus episcopus eandem comurbaniam ecclesie Sci. Medocii de Drumlechan [Drumlane] nostre diocesis, et herenaciam dictarum terrarum, cum omnibus terris suis nativis ceterisque omnibus emolumentis, de jure vel consuetudine ad eandem spectantibus, Dilecto nobis in Christo Nicholas Offarellach clerico dicte diocesis ac nativo dictarum terrarum damus, concedimus, et hoc presenti carta nostra confirmamus," &c. Then are enumerated the rights of *comorbanship* and *erenachy*, pertaining to the said O'Farrelly, together with the obligations imposed by the bishop, viz: the rendering of the accustomed tributes, with other offices, ordinary and extraordinary, and usual service to the prelate and his

retaining the *Coarbship* and *Erenachy*, whilst certain *Erenachs* were the keepers of the relics of saints.* Even females, it would appear, were *Erenachs*. About the time of St. Malachy, we find the death of Bebhinn, daughter of Mac Conchaille, recorded in the year 1134. She is styled, banairchinneach in our annals,† which Irish word may be translated *female Erenach*.

During the middle ages, and down to the seventeenth century, it would appear, that the *Erenachs* became exceedingly numerous, in Ireland, and, more especially, in the northern province. It would seem, from an Inquisition taken for the county of Tyrone, in 1608, that the *Erenachs* were generally a class of educated men, who were formerly ranked amongst the clerics; although, about that period, the holders of this office were generally laymen. From the laity, they appear to have been distinguished, only by the reception of tonsure, a rite preparatory to the canonical attainment of holy orders. Each of these *Erenachs* was obliged to pay a certain subsidy, refections and a yearly rent or pension, to the Archbishop or Bishop, in whose diocese the the lands, tenanted by them, were situated. These dues were paid, in accordance with the customs of the country, and in proportion to the quantity of land held by each *Erenach*. The *Erenachs* were the actual possessors of old church lands, out of which certain contributions, either in money or kind, were paid by them, for ecclesiastical purposes. On the death of an *Erenach*, the sept to which he belonged were accustomed to elect his successor, from amongst themselves. In case they could not agree, on the choice to be made, the bishop and clergy were entitled to interpose, and make a selection from the same sept; but, according to the usual custom, they were not authorised to take the *Erenachy*, into their own hands. Even, in case the whole sept became extinct, it was necessary to look out for another sept, to which the *Erenachy* should be transferred. On the latter sept would then devolve the right of electing the *Erenach*, subject to the identical conditions, services and charges, that bound his predecessor in the office. It would appear, that the *Erenachies* had their origin in usurpations of church lands, by laymen, or tonsured clerks, who called themselves *Archdeacons*. It is certain, that at no period, were they advanced to the dignity of the priesthood, nor even to that of deaconship, as Ussher supposes. In the dioceses of Derry and Raphoe, according to the latter

successors. This confirmation is said to have been given, in the cemetery of the house of the Brothers Minor of Cavan, in the diocese of Kilmore. See, *Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry, n,* (z) *p.* 26. *Edited by the Rev. Wm. Reeves.*

* See, *Ordnance Memoir of the Parish of Templemore. Part II. § I. pp.* 28, 29. The term airchinneach "occurs in the Annals of the Four Masters for the first time at the year 601. It is found again at 788; but the Annals of Ulster in the parallel passage (Anno 792) have *princeps* in its stead: and it is probable that the compilers of the ancient Irish canons published by D'Archery had this word in view when they employed the expression *Excelsus Princeps* to denote a monastic superior. Cormac in his Glossary, makes it synonymous with the Greek ἀρχὸς, and Latin *excelsus*. In a passage of the Leabhar Breac, also cited by Professor O'Donovan, Satan is styled the '*Airchinnech* of hell, and prince of death.' (Annals, A.D. 1179.)" *Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry, n.* (k) *p.* 4. *Edited by the Rev. Wm. Reeves, D.D.*

† *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, vol. II. pp.* 1046, 1047.

writer, the bishop received a third part of the church revenue, whilst the other two-thirds were reserved for the repairs of churches, for hospitality, and for the *Erenach's* maintainance.

It would seem, that not only in Ireland, but also in France, there was a class of persons, who assumed the title of Archdeacons, whereas, in reality, they were only laymen.* In lapse of time, they succeeded to the discharge of the duties of archdeacons, who, according to the antient discipline of the Church, were the managers and stewards of ecclesiastical property. It would appear, also, that in the middle ages, the office of Archdeacon was not unknown in monasteries and religious houses, with which its duties had a certain connection. And, it would also seem, that Archdeacons resided within these monasteries.† In the History of Croyland, by Ingulph, it is recorded, that an Archdeacon had been appointed over the whole parish of Croyland.‡ During the middle ages we find, likewise, that there were several archdeacons, in one and the same diocese. Of these some were called *majores*, and others *minores*.§ It is possible, that whilst the former belonged to the clergy, who had embraced the higher orders of subdeaconship, deaconship, or the priesthood, and who were consequently, by their vows, obliged to lead a life of celibacy; the latter had been only admitted to some of the minor orders. In a letter, which Hincmar of Rheims wrote to the church of Tournay, and which is quoted, by Ussher, he warns the bishop, that he should not receive any reward for the appointment of church officers, but that he should elect Archpresbyters and Archdeacons, to become the dispensers of ecclesiastical functions.

With respect to the *Corbes* and *Erenachs* being married, Ussher seems to anticipate an objection, that they were not likely to have been

* "ARCHIDIACONATUS feudi jure possessus, a viris sæcularibus, etiam temporibus Caroli M. quippe in hujus Capitulari 1. ann. 805, cap. 15. Capit 4. ejusdem anni cap. 2. lib. 1. Capitul. cap. 110. lib. 6. cap. 266, *ut Archidiaconi non sint laici* præcipitur. Vetus Charta apud Catellum lib. 5. Rerum Occitan. pag. 872: *Ut tunc temporis erat mos Milites tenere Archidiaconatus.* Ordericus Vitalis lib. 3. pag. 496 sub ann. 1066: *Fulcoius Radulphi de Caldreto filius * * * Archidiaconatum quoque, quem in feudo ab antecessoribus suis de Archiepiscopo Rotomagensi tenebat, Monachis dedit* Innocentius III. P.P. lib. 14. Epist. 122: *Archidiaconatum S. Gemmæ, cui tunc temporis præsidebat, ignorante Capitulo, pro magna pecuniæ quantitate pignori cuidam Militi obligavit, etc.* Archidiaconatus dati ad firmam, quoad jura spiritualia, meminit Provinciale Eccles. Cantuar. lib. 5. tit. 4. Vide *Procuratio.* [De Archidiaconus et eorum officio legendus imprimus Johan. Morinus de sacris ordin. part. 3. exercit. 16. cap. 3.]" *Ducange's Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub voce Archidiaconus.*

† Thus we read: "Succrescebat jamdudum in agro abbatis Johannis Septimi illa paradella invidiæ, qua in suum causabatur Archidiaconum oblique oculos deflectere, excogitareque vias, modos et media, quibus posset eum depellere extra monasterium." Chron. Joan. Whethamst. pag. 337. *Ibid.* Amongst the rules to be observed, by the professed monks of the House of St. Julian, near St. Albans, in Hertfordshire, England, amongst other observances, it is especially noted that none of the religious shall absent themselves from the house, for a whole day and night, "sine speciali licentia Domini Abbatis vel ejus Archidiaconi," &c. *Monastici Anglicani Volumen Alterum, per* Rogerum Dodsworth *Eboracensem,* Gulielmum Dugdale Warwicensem. *p.* 378. Ed. Londini. A.D. 1661. fol.

‡ *Historia Croylandensis, p.* 886. *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui.*

§ See, *Gallia Christiana. No.* 58, *in Episc. Antissiodor.*

Archipresbiteri and *Archidiaconi*, at the period of their first institution.* He then attempts to show, that in the early period of Christianity, in Ireland, there was no law to restrain *Presbiteri* and *Diaconi*, from the state of wedlock. He cites some canons of the early Irish church, in support of this position, the meaning of which he did not fully understand, and his reasonings deducted from these decrees show him to have been ignorant even of the general discipline of the Catholic church, in his own time. His remarks on the eight married men, who usurped the see of Armagh, are equally futile; because, their usurpations were opposed to the promulgated statutes and canons of the universal church. He seems to think, that the description of these men, whom he allows to have been learned, yet altogether without orders, applies to the class of *Corbes* and *Erenachs*. As those men usurped to themselves the functions of Archbishop, so, in like manner, did others retain in their sept the dignity of the *Archpresbyter*, by the name of *Corbe*, whilst others again claimed the retention of the office of Archdeacon, whom they named *Erenach*. He adds, that the Irish *Corbes* and *Erenachs* commonly speak Latin, and are accounted clergymen, being subject to the bishop's visitation, paying him a subsidy at his entrance, and remaining chargeable, with proxies and refections.† We find an instance of a *Corbeship* being sequestrated, by John Walton, archbishop of Dublin, in 1473.‡

By what was called the "Canonica dispositio quartarum," § the

* "Harris, in his usual mode of adding some mistake to Ware's works, says (*Antiq. p.* 235.) that the Corbes were antiently married men till celibacy was enjoined the clergy. What confusion! We do not find any married Corbes or Comorbas until very long indeed after the law of celibacy was established; and the married Corbes, who appeared in late times, were either not clergymen in any sense of the word, or at most had received only some minor orders, *ex. c.* the tonsure." *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI. §. IX. n.* 63. *p.* 82.

† "In the first office taken for the county of Tyrone, 27th of July, 1608, this evidence is given: "Ac ulterius jurati præd. super sacramentum suum dicunt, "quod in qualibet dictarum baroniarum præter illas terras, quæ antehac possidebantur, ac modo possidentur ab hominibus nunc laicis, sunt aliæ quædam terræ "de quibus quidam clerici sive homines literati quod vocantur *Erenaci*, ab antiquo "seisiti fuerunt, &c. Nihilominus quilibet dictorum Erenachorum solvebat et solvere "debebat archiepiscopo sive episcopo, in cujus diœcesi terræ quas possidebant "situatæ fuerunt, quoddam charitativum subsidium, refectiones, ac pensionem "annualem secundum quantitatem terræ et consuetudinem patriæ." "

‡ In the register of the Archbishop of Dublin, according to Ussher, we find the following decree: "Quia ex quibusdam rationabilibus causis coram nobis deductis, "animum nostrum juste moventibus, officium Corbanatus ibidem cum omnibus "emolumentis et pertinentiis suis duximus sequestrandum, et sequestramus per "presentes: Tadeum Oskelly clericum ejusdem villæ et ecclesiæ Glindelachensis "ipsius sequestratorum custodem deputantes, jurisque et pertinentium dicti officii "antiquitus excrescentium, et excrescere valentium, usque nostram visitationem et "ecclesiæ et popularium de Glindelach prædict. ratiocinio emolumentorum ipsius "officii et rerum ad illud pertinentium nobis reservato, &c. etiam ex scrutatis "antiquis ecclesiæ nostræ Dubliniensis scripturis et monumentis seu chartis, dispositionem dicti officii, cum illud vaccare contigerit, ad nos et nostros successores "pertinere debere, et nullum alium (sede Dubliniensi duntaxat plena et consulta "archipresule) pronuntiamus decernimus et declaramus in his scriptis. Datum in "manerio nostro de Finglas, II. mo. de mensis Decembris, A.D. 1473, et nostræ "consecrationis anno 2do." "

§ See, *Gregory Epist. II. lib.* 3.

bishop was to have his fourth of the spiritual and temporal profits of the church of Clogher; and, according to Ussher, he received the fourth part of the tithes of such parishes, as were within that diocese. But, moreover, every *Erenach* payed him a certain yearly rent, out of the *Termon-lands*, belonging to his church. If this were in consideration of the *Quarta*, due to the bishop, out of the temporal possessions of the church, Ussher thinks his conjecture would be more probable, and more conformable to the idea of antient Church government, than that which was delivered by some of the northern jurors, who were not very skilful in matters relating to ecclesiastical antiquity and lore. He then refers to their opinion, as contained in the letter to the Earl of Salisbury, by Sir John Davis. The bishop's portion being deducted, in the manner shown, there would then remain another fourth part of the tithes and temporalities, to be allowed to the ministers, that attended the cure; another fourth part to be spent in the reparations and keeping up of the church ; and a fourth, also, to relieve the poor and strangers, as the canons require.* When the church goods were received into a common hand, and the partition of the several shares had been abused, most probably by the *œconomus*, or for some other reason, each one was willing to be the steward of his own portion, the *Presbyteri* (i.e. the parson and vicar) and the *Archidiaconus* (i.e. the Erenach) may have adopted the following rule, according to Ussher. The *Erenach* probably charged himself, with the reparation of two-thirds of the fabric, taking upon himself the care of the lower part or body of the church, whilst the parson or vicar undertook the charge of the other third part. The three quarters of the church's goods, remaining above the bishop's allowance, being divisible amongst them, for greater quiet and ease, it is thought, that the *Presbyteri* took wholly to themselves the three quarters of the tithes, two of which fell to the parson's lot, and one to the vicar's.† But, they did not demand any benefit from the temporal profits, except a small quantity of the glebe-land, on which they dwelt. The *Archidiaconus* or *Erenach* had assigned to him the produce of the three quarters of the temporal lands, which he raised out of such rents, cuttings and services, as were to be exacted of the *Coloni Ecclesiastici* or *Termoners;* and, these were intended to be applied for the maintenance of hospitality, and for the entertainment of strangers, as also, for the common charge of reparation. Thus, things were ordered, when the distribution of the church goods, into four parts, was allowed, as might be observed in those places, which belong to the diocese of Clogher, viz. in a part of Tyrone, in Fermanagh, and in the county of Monaghan, formerly called Ergallia, when *Quarta Episcopalis* is said to have been granted to the bishop of Clogher, by Innocent II., at the request of St. Malachy O'Morgair. The latter prelate does not seem to have enjoyed the benefit of any tithes,

* *Gelas. Epist. ad Clem. et pleb. Brundusii apud Gratianum.* 12. *qu.* 2 *cap. Concesso, Greg. II. in Epist. ad Clem. et pleb. Thuringia, Concil. Worm. Can.* 7. *et* 47.

† Montgomery, in the MS. published in the *Ordnance Memoir of the Parish of Templemore, Part II.* §. *II. p.* 50. also agrees in the statement, that in the diocese of Clogher, besides his lands, the fourth part of the tythes belonged to the bishop, the parson claiming two fourths of the tythes, whilst the remaining fourth belonged to the vicar.

nor of lands, either mensal or censual; but, lived by coshering, after the Irish fashion.

As the *Canonica dispositio quartarum* was in use in Clogher, the distribution *in tertias* was observed in the dioceses of Derry and Raphoe. There the *Erenach* took up the Bishop's third of the tithes, which he did not deliver in kind, but compounded for them to the bishop, by the payment of a certain yearly rent. In like manner, he paid a certain annuity out of the *Termon-lands*, which, possibly might have been due, in regard of the bishop's interest in the third of the temporal lands, belonging to the church. The *Erenach* held for the maintenance of his charge, the remaining two-thirds of the temporalities. The parson and vicar were content with the two-thirds of the tithes, which were proportionately divided between them.* The parson, vicar and erenach charged themselves in common, with the keeping up and repairs of the church.

In the diocese of Armagh, from which the state of the diocese of Kilmore did not materially differ, the tithes were divided, into three parts, whereof the parson had two divisions, and the vicar one portion. The archbishop only demanded certain mensal tithes, out of the lands

* The foregoing account of the Bishop receiving one-third of the tithes, the Parson one-third, and the vicar one-third, in the dioceses of Derry and Raphoe, is conformable with the statement of Montgomery, in the MS. published in the *Ordnance Memoir of the Parish of Templemore, Part. II. §. II. p.* 50. In the dioceses of Clogher, Derry and Raphoe, according to the first Protestant Bishop of Derry, Montgomery, we are told, that "The parsonages were usually bestowed upon students that intended to take orders towards their mayntenance at schoole, and were enjoyned within few yeares after they accepted the parsonage to enter into orders, but hold not themselves bound to execute devyne service.

"The Vicars are tyed to perpetuall residence and service of the cure, and besyde their portion of tythes, have the benefit of all oblations and other small dueties at buryals and christenings to them selves alone for attendance at the service. Also they had a small parcel of ground lying next the church, where their house was buylt for their residence, w^ch^ was called *terra sacerdotalis, libera & sine censu.*

"The parsonages and vicarages through all theise three Dyoceses have byn ever collated by the Byshops of theise sees, without contradiction or challenge of any person.

"In the parishes where the Cathedrall Churches stoode the rectorye is ever annexed unto the Byshop of that See, the vicarage to the Deane of the same, and certayne other rectories and vicarages are impropriat to the Byshop and Deane w^ch^ are called *mensalas, quia ad mensam Episcopi & Decani pertinebant.*

"The Parsons and Vicars paye procurations to the Byshop once every yeare *in cursu visitationis*, as they call it.

"There is a mortuary due to the Byshop at the death of every person, that dyeth possessed of goods to a certayne value, as of five cowes the Byshop hath one, and is called *vacca mortuaria;* and yf he have 500 the Byshop hath but one, and proportionably of other goods. In every Byshoprick besydes inferior Deanes there is one principall Deane, and an Archdeacon, with other Canons that made up the bodye of the Chapter, who assisted the Byshop, and had their houses, and kept their residence about the Cathedrall Church, and had lands belonging unto them w^ch^ was called the Canons Lands." *Ibid.*

For much additional information, regarding the rents accruing to the Bishop of Derry, and herenachies, the reader is referred to *Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry. pp.* 63 to 86, with the accompanying notes. This valuable record has been ably illustrated by the Rev. Wm. Reeves. See, also, the Appendix to the aforesaid work, E. (pp. 112 to 119,) which treats of church revenues and their distribution, in some of the northern dioceses of Ireland.

lying about the city of Armagh. The *Erenach* possessed the temporal lands of the church, and paid a rent to the bishop ; but, did not interfere with the tithes. Yet, with the parson and vicar, he bore the charge of structural reparations. In different dioceses, there were various customs, for the distribution of the church revenues ; and, even in one and the same county, these usages were very different. Thus, in one part of Tyrone, belonging to the diocese of Clogher, the bishop and vicar received one half of the tithes, and the parson, the other: whilst, in another part, belonging to the diocese of Derry, the parson, vicar and *Erenach*, divided the tithes between them, in such a manner, as has been already mentioned. In another part of the same county, belonging to the diocese of Armagh, the parson received the two-third part of the tithes, and the vicar the remaining part, the archbishop and *Erenach* making no claim upon them.

The foregoing is the substance of what Ussher states, on the subject; whilst, modestly declaring, he would not desire others to imagine, tha the could undertake to determine anything positively, on the subject of *Corbes*, *Erenachs* and *Termon-lands*. He declares, that his purpose was only to point out the fountains of information, and, to compare the state of things, in his day, with the practice of antient times. He professes his desire of being impartial, in his account; and, expresses a hope, that those who have greater judgment and leisure may devote themselves to further enquiries, regarding these matters.*

With regard to the usages and practices of *Corbes* and *Herenaghs*, there appear to have been many customs existing, which were common to both classes of persons; as for instance, their transmission of the church lands to their posterity, or, at least, to the sept to which they belonged, according to the Irish laws of succession and inheritance. With regard to the origin of *corbeships* and *erenachies*, we are informed, that Harris, in his MS. abstracts, from the Rolls' office, Dublin, preserved in the library of the Royal Dublin Society, has some absurd and groundless speculations relating thereto. Neither, is he altogether correct, in what he states on these subjects, in his additions to Ware.† The differences, that existed between the corbes and erenachs, seem to have consisted, according to a learned writer, in the former possessing more extensive lands, than the latter, and in sometimes having erenachs under them. The *Erenach* was the perpetual tenant of the bishop, whose lands were held by him, but his power and influence were less than that of the *Corbe*. Some *Corbes* were in holy orders and the heads of collegiate churches; whilst, the *Erenachs* had no higher order, than the tonsure. Moreover, many *Corbes* held lands, that belonged to old abbeys, and it would seem independently of the bishops. To the latter description of persons St. Malachy's uncle belonged; for, it appears, he held possession of the

* See, Ussher's Treatise, of the Original and first Institution of CORBES, ERENACHS, and TERMON LANDS. *Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. Vol. I. No. II. pp.* 192 to 207.

† See, *Harris' Ware. Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland, chap. XXXV. pp.* 232 *to* 236.

property of the monastery of Bangor, of which place he was called the *Comorb*, tantamount to abbot.*

In the early part of the seventeenth century, it would seem, that the tenants of the church lands of the Dioceses of Clogher, Derry and Raphoe were called *Eirenaci*, *Corbani*, or *Termoners*. We are told, that they were, for the most part, scholars, and spoke Latin, and that previous to the time named, the chief tenants decided on all civil questions and controversies, arising amongst their neighbours. Hence, it is said, were derived their names of *Eirenachs*, απο της ειρηνης, from making peace, or of *Termoners*, *a terminandis litibus*, from ending of controversies. The lands of the church, antiently affording sanctuary, were thence said to have been called *Termons*, *a termino*, because pursuit there ended, no man venturing to proceed beyond their boundaries, in the olden time. Tenants were placed by the Bishops, on these lands, and their possession was continued, by new Bishops, after the death of every *Erenach*. Nor was it lawful for the son of the *Erenach*, to meddle with the lands his father possessed, until the bishop made him a grant of the *Erenachy*. And, if the *Erenach's* son did not come to claim this grant, within a certain limited time, the Bishop might give the land to another, and precedents of this nature were to be found. Or, if the Bishop saw that the son or next kinsman, who demanded the *Erenachy*, was unable to perform the duties of the office, through poverty, or any other cause; the Bishop gave the land to another, whom he chose, and precedents of this kind were seen, by Montgomery. According to the statement of the latter, the Bishops altered the rents of these lands, as they were disposed to take more or less refection from their tenants. Nor did these Church lands pay rent, duty or acknowledgment, to any person, but the Bishop, until the time of Shane O'Neill's rebellion. That chieftain obliged the Bishops to grant exactions, from the Church lands, to maintain his rebellion; and, these exactions were continued, by temporal lords, after this war ended, until an act of council was obtained against them, whereby the offenders were obliged to make adequate restitution.†

Besides the foregoing notices, from so many different published sources, I have made application to a living authority,‡ whose acquaintance with the laws, manners and customs of our ancestors renders his opinions of great weight, on a subject of this nature. Hence, with feelings of no ordinary gratification, I consider that no better acknowledgment can be offered for the reception of the information afforded, regarding *Comhorbas* and *Airchinnechs* or *Erenachs*, than by

* See, *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVI. § IX. n.* 63, *pp.* 84, 85.

† See the *Ordnance Memoir of the Parish of Templemore. Part II.* § 11. *p.* 51.

‡ The author alludes to that truly learned Irish scholar and archæologist, Professor Eugene O'Curry, of the Irish Catholic University, to whom his thanks are pre-eminently due, for the—at all times—ready and courteous communication of that national lore, he has acquired by a life long devoted to laborious study, and which he delights in imparting to those engaged on literary pursuits, tending to illustrate the history and antiquities of Ireland.

presenting to the reader the following communication, in the words of the writer:—

"The *Comhorba* was the vicar, a legal representative of the Patron Saint, or founder of the Church, but the word *Comhorba* is not exclusively ecclesiastical, for in the ancient laws of Erin it meant the heir and conservator of the inheritance; and, it is in the latter sense, it is always used, in our ecclesiastical writings.

"There was an understood original compact, recognized by the 'Brehon Laws,' which vested the *Comhorbship* of the church and its lands in two families; namely, in that of the Patron Saint or founder, and in that of the person, who gave the original site and endowment.

"It was the family of the Patron Saint, that invariably supplied the Abbot, as long as there could be found among them even a psalm-singer, to take the office; and, when they failed to supply a fit person, then he was sought from the family of the owner of the land. If, in the mean time, a better and more learned man of the Patron's family should spring up, the abbacy was to be handed over to him; but, if he were not better, he should wait until it became vacant by death or otherwise.

"If, however, in the absence of a qualified person from either family, an unqualified person should succeed as temporal heir, he was obliged to provide a suitable clergyman to discharge the offices of the church, according to its dignity, whilst the natural abbot administered the temporal offices and the management of the land.

"The *Airchinnech* or *Erenach* was a mere temporal agent or steward of the church lands, under the *Comhorba*, whoever he might be. He sometimes took the tonsure and some other minor order, which raised his Eric, or composition, in case of any insult or injury offered to him. He was generally a married man, without any official value or reverence of person, but what was derived from the character, or ecclesiastical dignity of the Patron Saint, whose secular inheritance he managed. It happened often, however, that the whole administration of the Church and its land was performed by one and the same person. This was when the abbot, bishop, or priest performed himself the clerical duties, and also acted as his own *Airchinnech* or steward."

With regard to the meaning of *Termon-lands*, which are so frequently mentioned in Irish records, Sir John Davis, who wrote to the Earl of Salisbury in 1606, says, that with much difficulty, he obtained the following information regarding them, it being furnished by one of the best learned vicars in all the country, and by one who had been a Brehon, having some skill both in the canon and civil laws. It was stated, that the word *Termon* signifies *liberty* or *freedom*, in the Irish tongue, and that all church lands whatever are called *Termon-lands*, by the Irish, because they were ever free from all impositions and cuttings of the temporal lords.* They had the privilege of sanctuary, so

* "The land assigned, for the endowment of a Church, or monastic establishment, to its first founder, or patron saint, was called by the Irish its *Termon*, a name borrowed apparently from the Latin *Terminus, a boundary*. "Let the *Termon* of the sacred place have its marks around it," says an old Canon of the Irish Church, on

that no temporal serjeant or officer might enter to arrest any person upon these lands, but the bishop's officers only; although, amongst the English, those only were called *Termon-lands*, which were possessed by the *Corbes* or *Erenachs*.* But, whilst treating of the county of Monaghan and Fermanagh, Sir John Davies remarks, that the church land there was either monastery land, Corbe-land, or Erenach's-land It did not appear, to him, that the bishop had any land in demesne, but that he derived certain mensal duties, which were paid him by the *Corbes* and *Erenachs;* nor, was it found, that the parsons and vicars had any glebe land, at all, in this country. The portion of the monastery land, there, was found to have been inconsiderable; but, the lands belonging to the *Corbes* and *Erenachs* were of a far greater extent, and found in every barony. The same writer remarks, that the *Corbes* and *Erenachs*, whom he designates ecclesiastical persons, had no corres-

this subject, in the Latin of which, the word *Terminus* is used, where *Termon* occurs in the translation just given. The *Termon land* of a church was considered to have by right the privilege of sanctuary, and to be free from any owing of rents or other exactions to temporal lords. But that those lay lords did not allow them to continue free from such exactions and contributions, is clear from the *Fourth Act of the Synod of Cashel*, in 1172, which distinctly states that they were in the habit of levying them at regular and stated periods, as well as casually at other times. The Constitution in question runs thus :—

"*Fourthly*. That all church lands, and possessions belonging to them, be wholly "free from exaction on the part of all secular persons. And especially, that neither "petty kings, nor chieftains, nor any other powerful men in Ireland, nor their sons "with their families, are to exact, as has been customary, victuals and hospitality, "in lands belonging to the church, or presume any longer to extort them by force. "And that those detestable contributions, which are wont to be exacted from lands "belonging to the church, four times in the year, by the neighbouring chieftains, "are to be exacted no more."—*Giraldus Cambrensis.—Hib. Exp. c.* 34. See, the *Rev. Mr. King's Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh. p.* 18. The same writer, in a foot note, at the bottom of the page, in question, refers us to *Ussher's Works*, by *Elrington, Vol. XI. p.* 423., when treating of the words of the old Irish Canon, in the extract, already given. In a subsequent page of the work, already quoted, references are made to accounts, contained in the Irish Annals, under the years, 806, 832 and 834, regarding outrages committed on Termon lands, with the reparations exacted, in atonement for these outrages, which were considered sacrilegious. See, *p.* 26. *Ibid.*

* An opinion, differing from this statement, is thus advanced by the Rev. Mr. King. He says: "Where the Superior of a Church was called its Abbot, or Erenach, but not dignified with the higher title of Coarb, his land in such cases does not seem to have had the name or privilege of Termon, but to have been simply known as church land or Erenach land. The latter name seems to have been used at least to designate it in later times. The *Lymmaraddy Inquisition*, already cited, immediately in connection with the end of the passage quoted at p. 7, proceeds: "And "further, the said jurors doe, uppon their oathes, find, that the difference of termon, "corbe, and herenagh, consisteth onlie in this, that the termon is the name of the "land, and all termon land is herenagh land, and hath all the priviledges of herenagh "land, but all herenagh land hath not alwaies as ample privileges as the termon "lands." It is to be regretted that these jurors did not understand how to write or compose English; as, had they done so, it might have deprived them in part of the opportunity of leaving involved in so much obscurity, the historical points which they were commissioned to investigate. How absurd would such a statement as the above sound to us, if made in connection with terms more familiar to our ears in these days.—E. g. "The difference of rector, glebe, and curate lieth *only* in this, "that the glebe is the name of the land, &c."" See *Memoir Introductory to the early History of the Primacy of Armagh. p.* 27.

ponding parallel in any other part of Christendom, nor even in Ireland, except in the countries that were occupied by the mere Irish. He states, that although there was both a parson and vicar, in every parish; yet, both their livings, put together, were insufficient "to feed an honest man."*

Ussher, in endeavouring to account for the origin of the *Termon-lands*, proceeds to show, from the statutes of various councils, how in former times, it was provided, that whoever undertook the founding of a church was obliged to endow the same with certain possessions, for the support of those who were to attend God's service therein; so that a bishop might not consecrate any church, before an instrument of such donation was delivered, by the founder.† And, after this donation, the founder was no longer to have the disposal of these possessions, the management of which belonged to the bishop.‡ Thus, it came to pass, that every church had a certain proportion of land allotted to it, free from all temporal impositions and exactions. The servants, on the land, also, appertained thereto, as appears from the statute of Charlemagne.§ And, it is sufficiently probable, that those who founded churches, upon their lands, felt inclined to assign an endowment for them, in convenient places. Hence, they would naturally make choice of the lands, surrounding the church or monastery, they had founded.‖

* "For the tythes of every parish within the diocese, which comprehendeth Monaghan, and almost all Fermanagh, are divided into four parts; whereof the parson being no priest hath two parts; the vicar, who is ever a priest, and serveth the cure, hath one-fourth part, and the bishop hath another fourth part; which, God knoweth, in these poor waste countries do arise to very small portions. And thus we found the state of the Church in this country." *Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. Vol. I. No. II. pp.* 158 to 163.

† *Concil. Braccarens. cap. 5.*

‡ *Synod. Toletan. III. cap.* 19. *Concil. Mogunt. sub Arnulpho, cap.* 4. *Concil. Wormatiense, cap.* 16.

§ *Capitular. ab Ansegiso collect. lib. I. cap* 9.

‖ Harris, in giving Ware's statement of the opinion of some, that *Termon* signifies *Terram Monachorum*, adds within brackets, ["Yet I shall offer one more upon this Head to the Readers' Choice, which possibly may carry some Weight. We have seen before from *Cambrensis*, that the *Lay-Abbot* was appointed by the Clergyman, Æconomist, or *Patron* or *Defender* of the Church. *Tearmann* in *Irish* signifies *Protection*, and *Tearmannoir*, a *Patron;* from whence *Termon-lands*, may in *Cambrensis's* sense signify Lands granted to the Lay-Abbot or *Herenach* for his Protection." *Harris' Ware. Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland, cap. XXXV. p.* 234. To those remarks the Rev. Mr. King replies: "Now, although Harris may have found in an Irish Dictionary, (O'Brien's for instance), the meanings, "*protection*," and "*Patron*," given, among others, for the Irish words *Tearmann* and *Tearmannoir*, yet unfortunately for the possibility of his conjecture on the subject "carrying some weight," neither of these meanings is a proper or original one of the corresponding Irish word; *Tearmann* signifying simply, from its original, a territory enclosed within certain definite limits, and in its common application in ancient times, a territory so enclosed for the church's use; and *Tearmannoir* similarly implying a resident on, or occupant of any portion of, such a territory. If *Tearmann* can ever be properly translated 'protection,' it is only as a *secondary* sense, originating in the circumstance that the *Termons* were endowed, by antient privilege, with the right of "Sanctuary," or Protection; (somewhat as the Israelitish cites of refuge were:) *Termon* would thus signify, "*protection*" in some cases, because according to its more proper meaning it was the name of a territory which gave protection to the hunted refugee: while Harris absurdly inverts this order of etymological investigation, and makes "*protection*" the primary, and "*land having the privilege of protection*"

The *Termon* and *Erenach lands* were free from all charges of temporal lords, as were all ecclesiastical possessions, by the fourth constitution of the council held at Cashel, in the year 1172.* The bishops were the chief lords of these lands, and on them, the churches were commonly built; and hence, the repairs of these buildings devolved, in a great measure, on the *Erenachs*, who were connected with them. And, as certain freedoms were annexed to those lands, such as the privilege of sanctuary, the land was thence called *Termon*, or free and protected land, because the word *tearmuin* is used, in the Irish tongue, for a sanctuary. Hence Termon-Fechin, which is a town belonging to the Archbishop of Armagh, means the sanctuary of Fechin. Ussher thinks that *tearmuin* may have been derived from the Latin word *terminus;* because, such privileged places were usually designated, by special marks and bounds. He cites the words of an ancient Irish Synod,† and an old law of the Bavarians,‡ in support of the latter opinion. He thence concludes, that *Termons* were free lands, so far as exactions, on the part of temporal lords, were concerned; and, as they were truly ecclesiastical territory, they were alone subject to church demands, being tributary to the church. An instance of this state of dependance may be found in the Register of Clogher, from which it appears, that Matthew, bishop of that see, let lands belonging thereto, to one Phillip O'Heogan, at a rent of two shillings, per year, to be paid to the said bishop, his successors, and to the Church of Clogher.§

On the Continent, the lands belonging to the Church were occupied by laymen, in many instances, who husbanded them, as well for the benefit of themselves and their families, as for the Church.‖ According to the Justinian code, the occupiers of land were of two descriptions: the *adscriptitii*,¶ who were a sort of vassals or villeins, perpetually

the secondary, meaning of the word. As to the statement of Harris and his cotemporary O'Brien, (from whom, I dare say, he may have borrowed it), that *Tearmannoir* signifies a Patron, it seems to be totally without foundation: O'Brien, though a very good Irish scholar, being a very indifferent authority in matters of this kind of research." See, *Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh. p.* 60.

* See, *Giraldus Cambrensis' Historia Hiberniæ Expugnationis. Lib. I. cap.* 34.

† "Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se."

‡ "Si quis servum Ecclesiæ vel ancillam ad fugiendum suaserit, et eos foras terminum duxerit." *Tit.* 4. § 1.

§ The deed adds; "Quam terræ peciam fecit patricius fuscus O'Heogain Erenachus dictæ ecclesiæ nobis et ecclesiæ Cloghrensi tributariam, reddendo inde nobis et successoribus nostris ex ea singulis annis unum solidum usualis monetæ."

‖ See, *Pithœus in Glossario vocal. Manopera, Mansus, pares.*

¶ See, *Cod. Just. lib. II. tit. Agric. at Cens. et Colon. leg.* 18. The *Dominus terræ* was lord of the *adscriptitius*. The latter was of the class, called by the Greeks, ὁμοδούλους τῶ ἀγρῳ, *agri ipsius conservus*. Hence, *mancipia rustica*, in the civil law, are reckoned amongst these goods, which are immovable. Yet, these servants were often made free, although, to a certain extent, they were still dependant on their landlords. Persons of this condition were called *Lidi*, or *Liti*, in France, and *Aldiones*, in Italy; and, in old documents, we have accounts of different states of servitude, such as *nobiles* and *ignobiles servi, coloni, inquilini, tributarii*, &c. In former times, those, who endowed churches and abbeys, bestowed not only lands, but the colonists of those lands, belonging to certain families and races, who were perpetually bound to perform all services, as vassals to these, who came into possession of the land. Such a deed of gift was made, by one Erfoinus, in the time of Chilperic, the French King, to St. Gall, in Switzerland. "Hence it is that we find

pertaining to the lands, to which they were first appointed, and from which they could not be alienated, their gains accruing to the owners of the soil; and, the *Coloni liberi*, who by thirty years possession, obtained from the landlord an estate of inheritance, remaining free tenants, although holding by a base tenure.* Thus, it would seem, that to the church, also, both these descriptions of tenants appertained, in the middle ages; the former, being regarded as *Servi ecclesiæ cum onere*, the latter, *liberi*, or *coloni ecclesiastici*. In the laws of the Old Germans, there were fines for killing those of either condition, resembling the Irish *Eric*, in the Brehon Laws. The duties to which both classes were bound, in behoof of the Church, are also set forth in those German laws.

Ussher thinks it probable, that the holders of the *Termon Lands* were at first tenants, in one of these conditions.† He also maintains, that the tenants of the Erenach were *servi ecclesiastici*. From the nature of their servitude, as found in old records, from the tributes exacted by the Irish lords of their tenants, especially in the north of Ireland, and, from the common custom of buying and selling servants, in times past,‡ the same writer infers, that the churches of Ireland had servants

so often in old grants, men numbered among other possessions given in Frank-Almoigne; as in a charter of King Henry II., ratifying a former donation of Earl Strongbow, in these words: "Sciatis quod ego dedi et concessi et hac meâ chartâ "confirmavi Thomæ Dominico meo clerico dignitatem quæ dicitur abbatia de "Glendalache, et personatum intus et extra, et omnes res et possessiones, et homines, "et redditus in ecclesiis, et oblationibus et decimis, &c. et cum omnibus aliis rebus "ad abbatiam illam pertinentibus in perpetuam eleemosynam, sicuti melius Richar-"dus Comes suâ chartâ confirmavit.""

* See, also, the *Rev. Mr. King's Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh. p.* 18.

† "I mean that those were no other than "originarii (as Gelasius termeth them) "originales inquilini, tributarii, or personæ colonariæ," as Sidonius Apollonaris doth entitle them, or adscriptitii, or some such thing. Whereupon John Walton, Archbishop of Dublin, ann. 1473, giving out a sequestration of the Corbeship of Glendalach, directeth it in this sort: "Johannes, miseratione divinâ Dubliniensis archi-"episcopus et Hiberniæ Primas, clericis, vassalis, adscriptitiis, et aliis habitatoribus "villæ et totius dominii nostri de Glendelache, terrarum, silvarum, nemorum, et ali-"orum locorum ipsius manerii nostri, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem." A strip of which servitude may seem to remain to this day upon the Erenach, who, besides an annual rent payed *nomine tributi* (as before I noted out of the register of Clogher) doth likewise give to the bishop a fine upon the marriage of every of his daughters, which they call Luach impigche, as the bishop of Kilmore, who doth usually receive it, informed me; so that I take no hold of the words of Dermicius O Cane, one of the Corbes of the north, and one of the jurors in the inquisition for the church lands in the county of Coleraine, used to the bishop of Derry (as his lordship told me) which were to this effect. 'Non debet dominus mutare censum antiquum, sed si careat 'rebus necessariis, vaccis pinguibus, &c. debet ad nos mittere, et nos debemus illi 'subministrare. Nam quæcunque nos habemus domini sunt, et nos etiam ipsi illius 'sumus.'"

‡ "In an antient Synod of Ireland, a bishop's legacy out of the church goods is proportioned by the price of a wife, or a maid servant, as may be seen in two antient books of Canons, written about 700 years since (*scil.* from the date 1609) the one remaining in Bennet-College, and the other in Sir Robert Cotton's library. 'Prin-'ceps (saith that synod, meaning thereby the bishop, as elsewhere ordinarily) in sua 'morte etiam de rebus ecclesiæ commendare potest, hoc est, pretium ancillæ, sive de 'mobili substantiâ sive de agro.' Whereunto may be added another Canon of that Irish Council (which cometh more near to the matter in hand) 'De commendatione

belonging to them, in a state of vassalage, in the olden time. He also supposed, that there were *liberi ecclesiastici* tenants of these churches, who had a property in the goods they acquired, and who might freely dispose of them, although they owed special service to a particular church. In the latter respect, although merely laymen, they were usually termed *homines ecclesiastici.** Ussher also thought, that the *Corbes* and *Erenachs* were the heads of these latter persons.

With regard to the meaning of *Termon lands*, Dr. Lanigan, who seems to derive it from the Latin word *terminus*, endeavours to show, that in an ecclesiastical sense, it originally meant a district or territory, whilst the idea of sanctuary was secondary. He then refers to the antient authorities, cited by Ducange, in support of this opinion.† It must, however, be observed, that these authorities, only have reference to a state of things, on the Continent of Europe. But, afterwards, at the word *termoners*, he says, that such was the designation for ecclesiastical husbandmen or tenants, amongst the Irish; and, for this statement, he cites the authority of Spelman. Again, at the word *Termon-lands*, he observes, that amongst the Irish, they meant lands appertaining to the Church, being derived from the Saxon term, *Land*, and the Latin *Terminus;* and that they were thus designated, because such land was distinguished by boundaries, which separated them from the holdings of laymen.‡ Neither, is it necessary to derive Termon from *terra immunis*, free land, says Dr. Lanigan, however true it be, that the church lands in Ireland were sometimes exempt from tribute, and that some of them were regarded as sanctuaries.§

Colgan, who speaks of a church or monastery, in the county of Sligo, says, that it was endowed with a noble and beautiful tract of land or estate, which was called Tearmann Fechin. The latter words signify the refuge or bounds of St. Fechin.‖ There was, also, a nunnery, at a place called Termon-Fechin, in the county of Louth, which, according to Harris, was possibly built upon some land,

'mulieris degentis sub conjugio, si habuerit ecclesiam cui servierit quamdiu cum viro 'fuerit, ex consensu viri tertiam partem substantiæ dabit ecclesiæ suæ (sed vir ejus 'distribuet) cætera autem viri et filiorum ejus erunt.'"

* See, *in Capitulis Carolinis a Benedicto Levita collectis. Capitular. lib. 5. cap.* 151. See, also, Ussher's paper, Of the original and first Institution of Corbes, Erenachs, and Termon Lands. *Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. Vol. I. No. II. pp.* 179 to 188.

† See, *Ducange's Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub voce Terminus.*

‡ He adds: "quo sensu territorium Ecclesiæ *Terminus* etiam dicitur, in Lege Bajwar. jam laudata in *Terminus I.* Cum autem terræ Ecclesiæ, inquit Spelmanus in voce *Corba*, multorum canonum vigore, liberæ essent et immunes a sæcularium potestate et sanctæ habitæ, dici etiam cæpit *Termon* pro loco sancto, atque inde Tearmuin pro sanctuario, ut ibidem exemplis probat. Quod autem ait quosdam esse, qui *Termon*, Gallicum *Terre moine*, i. Terram monachorum, sonare volunt, nihili est." See, *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub vocibus Termoners et Termon-landes.*

§ See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol. IV. chap. XXVI.* § *IX, n.* 63, *p.* 86. Such, also, is nearly the opinion of Sir James Ware, in his *Antiquitates Hiberniæ.*

‖ See, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, XX. Januarii. Vita S. Fechini, n.* 3. *pp.* 140, 141. For various places or lands to which the name Termon is attached, the reader is referred to *Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry, pp.* 3, 5, 70, 72, 74, 76, 81, 118, 127, 132.

formerly granted to the same saint. This writer observes, that the Irish name for limits or land-marks is *Teoran*, which the British call *Tervin*, in the same sense, and he thinks that both words were probably derived from the God, *Terminus*. But, others suppose, he says, that *Termon* or *Termun* had its original signification *a terra immuni*, or land free from all secular exactions, which by a rustic corruption came to be called *Termun* or *Termon*, i.e. *terra immunis*.* Harris does not appear to be certain of *Termon* being derived from *Terra Monachorum*, as Sir James Ware tells us, some authorities suppose. These Latin words Harris renders in Irish, *Tir-Manach*, the lands of the Monks, but he admits that they are a forced derivation. Neither does he positively pronounce, what he would seem to insinuate, that the name *Termon-land* may have its origin in the Irish word *Tearmann*, which signifies *protection*, and *Tearmannoir*, which means a *patron*.†

In the Ordnance Survey Memoir of the Parish of Templemore, there

* Vallancey says, that "Tearmon implies a sanctuary, protection or asylum, and is frequently written Tomran, and Tomharn, which are synonymous names with Tearmonn. Tearm-naomh is a patron saint; Tearmonn-cai, a house of defence, and Tearmonn Magcraidhe, was the antient name of St. Patrick's Purgatory.

"Some have erroneously thought that the Greek and Latin Terminus (Deus Terminorum) was derived from this Tearmonn, which has a different signification. Terminus is from the Celtic Tir-muin, i.e. Tir, Terra and muin, patrimonium; the bounds of which being distinguished by large unhewn stones, the Greeks, according to their usual custom of converting Celtic words to the sense of the nearest in sound of their own language, from thence formed Termon from τὲρμις, i. e. finis. Terminus was represented by a large unhewn stone, even in the temple built for him, by Numa on the Tarpeian rock, but was afterwards honoured with a human body, placed upon a pyramid. Plutarch traces this custom of land-marks and boundaries no farther back than the time of this Numa Pompilius; but Virgil proves it to be as old as that legislatrice Ceres, *partiri limite Campum*. We are not to seek for antient usages amongst the Greek and Latin authors, this amongst many others was derived from the Egyptians, who received it from the Hebrews, for as M. de Boze observes (Mem de l'Acad. t. 1. p. 50.) Moses does not appoint his people to set bounds to their lands, since the thing was established every where, but only forbids them to encroach upon them." The same writer then observes, that Ter-muin, or Terminus, implied a limited property of land, whose bounds were distinguished. He says it has the same signification, as the Hebrew word *gabelut*, i. e. limis, confinium, terminatio; and that hence, the Iberno-Celtic *gabhaltas*, which means a farm. See, *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. Vol. I. No. II. Advertisement. pp.* 132, 133. The Rev. Mr. King observes: "The land inherited by a Coarb from the patron saint who founded the church, (which, as we have seen, was called his *Termon*,) was regarded as having *the privileye of Sanctuary;* so that persons fleeing for refuge to it, from assailants, were considered to be under the protection of that saint, and not to be molested without dishonour to him, and to God, somewhat after the manner of the Israelites in regard to their cities of refuge." See, *Memoir Introductory to the early History of the Primacy of Armagh. p.* 26. This immunity or protection, although frequently violated, was generally respected, and became necessary in those turbulent times, and more especially in our own Island, where rapine and bloodshed so frequently prevailed amongst the chieftains and people. It was one of those wise provisions of the church, that tended to prevent crime and loss of life, when might usually prevailed against right, or when the "attribute of mercy" succumbed to the thirst for vengeance. Even violent and tyrannical princes and men were known to respect church immunities, in the Ages of Faith.

† See *Harris' Ware. Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland. chap. XXXV. §. II. pp.* 233, 234.

is an interesting document to be found, written by Montgomery,* the first Protestant bishop of Derry, Clogher and Raphoe, which throws some light on the antient state of these dioceses, as also on that of the land and tenants thereof, belonging to these bishoprics. The same writer alludes to the state of the dioceses of Armagh and Kilmore, in the Province of Ulster. In drawing up this account, his object was to induce King James I. to remodel the aforesaid bishoprics, to erect parish churches and seminaries within the province; and, he offers suggestions, as to the manner, in which his proposals may be effected. With regard to the temporal lands of the dioceses of Derry, Clogher and Raphoe, he says, that they were called *Termons*, and were of two sorts, *mensales*, and *censales*. The *mensales* were lands, which the bishops retained in their own possession, as places of residence, and were usually near the Cathedral Church, or in some other convenient place. They were so called, because they contributed to the support of the bishop's table. They could not be alienated by the bishops, but were to be reserved for the maintenance of hospitality. Such injunctions were imposed on the Bishops, by oath, in the apostolic rescripts, whereby the Popes granted to the incumbents their several sees. The *Censuales terræ* were the lands granted to tenants, who inhabited the said lands, and paid rent to the bishop for their possession. Every tenant paid a fine on his acceptance of the holding, and a subsidy, called a *charitative*, was presented to the bishop, on his accession to the see, or in other cases of want or necessity.

The *censuales terræ*, or copy-hold lands, which paid rent, also yielded certain entertainments to the Bishop, which were called refections. They were of the nature of cosherings, once or twice every quarter of a year, or even oftener, if the occasion of more frequent visitation required, as for instance, when the business of the church, or of the tenants, demanded the presence of the bishop. We are told, that in this manner, the bishops chiefly maintained themselves and their followers, spending the greater part of the year in making these visitations, and receiving meat and drink for 100, and some times 200, attendants.† In consideration of this charge, on the tenants, the Bishop imposed but a very small rent for the lands, letting a quarter of land, which contained at least 240 acres, sometimes more, from the sum of 3s. 4d. to 6s. 8d. In a few instances, the Bishops received 10s., which sum appears to have been about the highest rent demanded.‡ This was called *antiquum censum*, of which the Bishops made slight account, as they lived by means of their refections, for the most part, and not by their rents. We are told, that a tenant, who did not pay over a noble for his rent, spent ten pounds or twenty marks yearly, in the entertainment of the Bishop and of his followers. If the bishop

* The MS. from which this was published is preserved in the Cottonian Library, British Museum: *Titus B.* f. 626. Montgomery was incumbent of the see of Derry from the year 1605, to his resignation, in 1610.

† This custom will remind us of what St. Bernard says, regarding the practice of St. Malachy O'Morgair, who made frequent visitations of the diocese of Connor, accompanied by a band of his disciples.

‡ This state of things must, of course, be understood, as referring to the early part of the seventeenth century.

did not make his progress or visit, he had an allowance or a valuable consideration from his tenants, for refections.* The lands belonging to the aforesaid bishopries did not lie in one place, in entire manors, but, were divided through every parish, being usually situated near the church. They were distributed, much after the manner of the Levites' portions, amongst the rest of the tribes. By one and the same act, the bishops were accustomed, both to visit the churches, and to hold their temporal courts, for the purpose of deciding controversies amongst their tenants, to which end they had their officials and seneschals. Nor did any temporal officer intermeddle, in those matters, concerning the church tenants, which were left to the Bishops' seneschals; the Bishops, for the most part, making their visits to accomplish an especial ecclesiastical object.†

In the work of the Rev. Mr. King, already alluded to, various testimonies are adduced, to show the nature of the episcopal exactions from *Termon* and *Erenach lands*. These testimonies are chiefly extracted from the Ulster Inquisitions, taken about the commencement of the seventeenth century.‡ They are curiously illustrative of existing customs, as referring to the tenants on these lands, and to the dues and rents they were obliged to pay the ecclesiastical authorities. The names and septs of the occupiers are frequently given, together with the denominations of the townlands, which they held. These church tenants appear to have possessed prescriptive rights in their holdings, which confirmed them in their possessions, and the investigation of which would serve to illustrate the question of *tenant right*, which, at the present moment, forms so important a topic, in the discussion of Irish social questions. It is evident, from the information afforded, that various services, customs, rents, refections and duties were claimed by the representatives of the church, and allowed by the ecclesiastical tenants. These were intended, as well for the personal sustenance of ecclesiastics, as for church repairs and maintenance. In one particular instance, it is recorded, that St. Columbkill and the succeeding abbots of Derry, before any bishops were known in this part of the country, gave all the *Termon* and *Erenach lands* of that district unto the several septs, which, we may presume, held them at the time of the Inquisition. The septs held these lands by a gavelkind tenure, and the land itself was free, having the privileges of sanctuary and other liberties. An insinuation is here thrown out, or rather a statement is unreservedly made, and attempted to be proved elsewhere, by the Rev. Mr. King, that in antient times, the Irish bishops were not possessed of see lands, or episcopal rents, nor did they enjoy diocesan jurisdiction.§ The latter assertion is utterly untenable, but this is not the

* "By this kynd of lyfe not onely were the tenants ympoverished but a great number of unproffitable people mayntayned idly, who fynding meanes to lyve so easily would by no meanes be drawn to take any paynes or labor, but lyved upon the spoyle of others and proved very dangerous members."

† See the *Ordnance Survey Memoir of the Parish of Templemore. Part. II.* §. *II. pp.* 50, 51.

‡ See, *Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh. pp.* 46 to 51.

§ Whilst this writer admits, that the papers of the northern jurors were to be suspected for some inaccuracies, which were not unnatural, especially when their in-

place to enter upon the question; and, from all the evidences, bearing on the subject, I think it will be found, that the bishops received episcopal rents, derived from see lands. Even, the evidences, adduced by the Rev. Mr. King himself, tend to establish the fact, that rents were paid from the church lands to the bishops, at the commencement of the seventeenth century; and the question arises, when were those claims first mooted, and allowed, in the Irish church? The supposition of Mr. King, however ingeniously sustained, that those exactions had their origin, from about the times of St. Malachy O'Morgair, will not stand the test of rational investigation.

Besides the inaccurate statements, which we may suspect to have been furnished, in many instances, by the northern jurors, through a want of sufficient knowledge or access to original sources of information, there are other considerations to be taken into account, in connection with the circumstances, under which their evidence had been procured. The history of the plantation of Ulster by English and Scotch colonists, and the wholesale confiscation of the properties of the northern Irish, disclose instances of injustice and oppression, that scarcely find a parallel in the annals of any other country, but our own.* The Commissioners of the Crown, who were the creatures of a most unconstitutional monarch, understood too well the nature of the work on which they were to be employed, and the services they were expected to render, when called upon to find for the Crown to the prejudice of the native Irish. Religious and national prejudices influ-

formation appears to have been derived chiefly from tradition, he adds: "But, independently of such inaccuracies as are above referred to, the statements of the jurors relative to the original independence of the *coarbs* and *erenachs* of any episcopal jurisdiction,—the circumstance that their lands had never, at any time, belonged to the bishops,—that their submission to the latter, and consenting to pay them rents, was a voluntary procedure, with a view to obtaining protection in their possessions, and that it was, in fine, the Church of Rome which had effected the bringing about of the change which established bishops, with ordinary diocesan jurisdiction, in Ireland,—are altogether worthy of attention, as conformable to what is, by other historical evidence, made sufficiently certain." *Ibid. p.* 51. It would be almost impossible to write a sentence, in which so many grave historical inaccuracies could be crowded, as we find insinuated, in the extract already given. In the first place, when we make use of the terms, *episcopal jurisdiction*, reference is usually made to such as is of a purely spiritual character; if these expressions are to be applied in this sense, it may be fearlessly stated, that at no period in the early history of the Irish church were the *Coarbs* and *Erenachs* exempted from *episcopal jurisdiction*, nor did they consider themselves independent of the bishops, even when arrayed in direct opposition to the legitimate claims of the latter. The exact nature of the compromises entered into, between *Bishops* and their *Coarbs* and *Erenachs*, with regard to temporal vested rights and interests, on either side, is a question more difficult to be determined; and, most probably, will not find solution, until the antient laws of Ireland shall be published by the Brehon Commission, or until other national and historical evidences, bearing on this subject—if in existence—shall see the light. In another place, the question of episcopal jurisdiction, in Ireland, from the earliest times, will be found treated, at some length, and it is to be hoped, its nature and extent will be demonstrated, in such a manner, as to merit the attention of all candid and rational enquirers, into the facts of our primitive ecclesiastical history.

* For a most interesting record of the origin and progress of these iniquitous proceedings, the reader is referred to an admirable little work, by Thomas MacNevin, entitled, *The Confiscation of Ulster, in the reign of James the First, commonly called*

enced their unjust decisions, in almost all cases, whilst they found pliant, interested or passive instruments in the jurors empanelled to investigate titles and possessions. The result might naturally be expected. Whole counties became escheated to the Crown, whilst thousands of the native Irish were deprived of their lands and reduced to the most abject state of poverty. With the confiscation of their landed possessions, there is no reason to doubt, that the officers of the Crown were desirous of arrogating certain prerogatives and claims, annexed to those lands by prescriptive usage, or even perhaps, by disputed title. In substituting the English law for the Brehon code, those distinguished lawyers, who mainly directed the operations of this Royal Commission, had an intuition of the future easy transference of these strange national customs and vested interests, to be engrafted and legalized in their new and favourite system of what they considered an improved jurisprudence. The lawyers, judges, privy councillors and deputies, represented on the Commission, were deeply interested in the successful progress of a wholesale system of confiscation, and naturally looked for their rewards, not in the conciousness of pronouncing just decisions or of promoting equitable measures, when the rights of the native Irish were at stake, but in expecting a proportionate reversion of their possessions, in return for their own exertions, when invalidating the rights of the original possessors. Nor were their expectations disappointed: for however opposed were their proceedings to the dictates of simple justice and sound policy, the Royal prerogative was extended, and as a natural consequence, the Commissioners themselves received promotion, wealth and landed possessions.

That the rights of the church and its bishops were placed in abeyance to the claims of the Crown, in the general distribution of landed property, consequent on these Ulster Inquisitions, appears from the statement of George Montgomery, Protestant bishop of Derry, at the time of the Plantation. Montgomery himself was one of the Commissioners employed in these investigations; and, therefore, had abundant opportunities for offering an opinion, on matters connected with the Termon lands of the northern province. His statements—many of which are yet extant—are worthy of attention, in connection with the foregoing considerations.* It is true, his interests, as a representative

the Ulster Plantation. It constitutes one of the admirable series of volumes known as "The Library of Ireland," published by Mr. Duffy of Dublin.

* In a letter from Bishop Montgomery, to Lord Salisbury, dated Dublin, July 1st 1607, which is preserved in the State Paper Office, London, the following observations occur: "In the counties of Monaghan and Fermanagh within the Dioces of Clogher, the whole possessions of that Bishoprick have ever ben knowne by the name of *Termon-land*; of which *Termons* the Bishops of that See, as true landlords, have alwaies had the sole possession, placing, and displacing tenants, receiving their rents, their hospitiæ, with all fees, and services accruing due unto them out of ye same, sometimes augmenting, sometymes dyminishing their rents, at their pleasure, as by a Register of 200 years which I have shewed doth appere. Yet divers gentlemen supposing those landes escheated to the Crown by the Act of Dissolution, sought and obteyned patents of most of them from her late Majestie about the 34th year of her Raigne, at which time there being no Lawful Bishops in those places, but such as [being of the Pope's lewd instruments] worked in the countrie, and durst make no open challenge or exception; In which grauntes this

of the church newly established in Ulster, would naturally incline him to affirm the claims of the Bishops, in opposition to those of the Crown;

cautionarie proviso was inserted, that if the Patentees should not within 5 yeares build castles of defence on those landes, their patents should be utterlie voide, as now they are by non-performance of that condition, whereupon the late Patentees are againe become earnest suitors to his Majestie for a confirmation of their forfeyted estates, and the booke of the division of Monaghan, wherein those Termons are also to pass, is sent over unto your lordship; in the end whereof my challenge unto those *termons* is set downe: which *Termons* if they are suffered to passe away from the church, the utter undoing of that Bishoprick, and the impoverishing of all parochiall churches in those places might of necessity enseu, for to my knowledge there is not annie thes mallest glebe belonging to either to parson or vicar which is not included in these Termons." See, *Mr. E. P. Shirley's Account of the Territory or Dominion of Farney, pp.* 156, 157. Mr. Shirley, then tells us, that the claims of the Bishops to the Termon lands were disputed by the Crown; Sir John Davis, who was Attorney General, at that time, maintaining, that the Church had only certain rents from those lands, and not the lands themselves. The matter, being referred to Juries of Clerks or Scholars, verdicts were obtained in every county, against the Bishops, and in favour of Government. But these verdicts were by no means satisfactory to Bishop Montgomery, as indicated by his remarks on the subject, in different places, and his recorded objection to the line of evidence on which the jurors founded their statements. We find, in a letter from the Lord Deputy Chichester to the Lords, dated February 19, 1609, his objections noticed in the following curious postscript: "The [Lord Bishop] of Derry remembring us at the signing of this Letter, that some of the Juries in the finding of these *Termon* lands did profess to give noe credit to the Bishop's Register-bookes, and other writings, but to doe as they were led by their owne knowledge, notes, observation and tradition, as they cal'd it, and that we promised to certifie so much to yr. llps., wee do hereby yeald thereto in performance of our promiss, leaving the further consideration thereof to your lordships." *Ibid. p.* 157. In answer to some inquiries of the King's Commissioners, Bishop Montgomery writes as follows: "Recordes of Antiquitie within our Dioces we have none, saving only one old Register, which mentioneth not particular institutions and inductions. All that wee have is since the Plantation of Ulster, since which time all the benefices in my Dioces have bin presented or collated upon several incumbents." Harl. MSS. p. 17, quoted in Shirley's work. *Ibid.* After quoting the foregoing passages, in his book, the Rev. Mr. King adds: "In fact, the subject under investigation appears to have been sadly mystified by a confusion of ideas, which, in the mind of the bishop, as well as in that of the government, identified *the bishops* with *the church*, and caused them, as it would seem, to lose sight of the possibility of lands belonging *to the church*, and yet not *to the bishops*. The attempt of bishop Montgomery to prove by 'a Register of 200 yeares,' that his predecessors in the see of Clogher had always, as true landlords, the sole possession of the Termon lands of that Diocese, was a mistake as little supported by history, as the notion of the Attorney General, that *the church* had never any possession of the lands, but only rents, &c., from them. And if the jurors had any better knowledge of the subject, they certainly did not put it on record in the Inquisitions; but, on the contrary, where they were summoned, as we have seen, amongst other things, *to distinguish the ecclesiastical lands from the lands belonging to the Crown*, they ended by confusing, as far as in them lay, the one with the other: from what motives, we shall not here stop to enquire. The real state of the case, however, was, after all that precedes, that the *Termon* and *Erenach* lands had been originally the property of *the Church*, but, certainly, never at any time in the possession of *the bishops*. The authorities of the Church of Rome, during the days of her sway in Ireland, had never been able to secure full possession of them: but they remained, part of the old church property of Ireland, created by the Irish themselves, ere they had submitted to her rule, and subjected afterwards to various abuses, and exactions, yet independent of any foreign control, or at least ownership, throughout Ulster, at least, until the time that, after the Reformation, they were subjected to the sovereign prerogative of King James I." *Memoir Introductory to the early History of*

but, he was also capable of understanding the force of evidence in favour of his views, and the Inquisition records themselves furnish sufficient materials, for arriving at a conclusion, in support of his general statements, on this subject.

The meaning to be attached to the word *Termon* will receive further illustration, from an insertion of the following communication, bearing on this subject. As in a former instance, the writer takes this opportunity of recording his obligations to Professor Eugene O'Curry, who has furnished it, and he deems its insertion and acknowledgment, in the text of the present chapter, the most suitable and satisfactory offering he could present to the reader, in connection with this subject. The information afforded, being of an interesting and original character, and curiously illustrative of antient customs, on which so many conflicting views have been put forth, must doubtless command the attention of future investigators of our ecclesiastical history, laws and usages.

"The Irish word *Termonn*, or *Termainn*, which is undoubtedly the same as the word *Terminus*, had one fixed original meaning, though two distinct applications, in Ireland.

"In the first place, the word *Termonn* or *Termainn* signifies sanctuary or safety in some particular spot, or place, as in, or about a church; and secondly, it meant that spot or place itself, such as the church, or the limited space of ground, which afforded the sanctuary or safety, and within which everything was inviolable and sacred, from even the law of the land, for a time.

the Primacy of Armagh, p. 52. The distinctions here sought to be established, between lands "belonging to *the church*, and yet not *to the bishops*," are hardly worthy of serious consideration, especially when taken in connection with the mass of evidence bearing on the subject, and yet extant. It is sufficiently clear, that the bishops of the early Irish Church derived their support from church lands, in part, whilst the administration of the revenues, derived from these sources, probably involved expenditures for church purposes. The Bishops, according to the canons, could not alienate these lands, to suit their own private interests, but were bound to look upon themselves as the temporary stewards of such property. There can be no question, but the Bishops also held these lands *in capite*, as trustees for the time being, and as accountable for the just distribution of their revenues, according to the constitutions of the universal Church, in accordance with which, and for certain specified ecclesiastical objects, these endowments were at first made. That interruptions and usurpations of these ecclesiastical lands by laymen occurred, from time to time, as established by our national records, will not invalidate this position, no more than will the fact of litigation in our courts, between contending parties, on the subject of land claims, prove the respective rights of property, on the part of plaintiff or defendant. The exact nature of the obligations incumbent on the bishops, abbots or other ecclesiastics, who were evidently recognised, as the landlords of the Termon lands, according to canonical and prescriptive national right, and the relations of the church tenants, as well to their ecclesiastical superiors as to the chiefs to whom they owed fealty, would form a subject for interesting enquiry; for, it must be allowed, that owing to the partial statements hitherto produced, abundant scope is left for future speculation. A publication of the old church Registers or state paper documents, yet extant,—at least, in as much as they relate to this matter,—would probably throw a great deal of light on the subject under discussion. The antient laws of Ireland, also, when published, will solve many social and historical problems, that have hitherto taxed the ingenuity of vague speculators and rash theorists, on questions connected with the primitive state of Ireland.

" The practice of sanctuary appears to have been older than Christianity, as Plutarch writes in his Life of Romulus, that the latter Prince built a house of refuge for every one whose life or liberty was sought, could he but reach it. This house the Rev. Doctor Keating, in his ' Three Shafts of Death,' calls a *Termainn-house*, clearly indicating, that the safety afforded there was due to the constituting authority, and not to the house or *locus* itself.

" In Ireland, as already said, the word *Termainn* signified both, or, either, the act of sanctuary or the place of sanctuary, as the word *sanctuary* does at present.

" Again, the name *Termainn* has been applied in Ireland to lands belonging to a church, though situated at a distance from it; yet in this case, no sanctuary to life or liberty was implied, but only to the property of the church alone.

" Sanctuary was not absolute and permanent, in antient Ireland. If a criminal took shelter within the inviolable *termini* of the church, cross, or court of a king, or chief, he was only safe, until he consented to afford to his pursuers all the satisfaction in his power, and if this was not accepted, then the sanctuary was permanent, or as long as desired; but, should the criminal afford satisfaction within a certain fixed time, he was put out and left to his own resources.

" *Sanctuary*, or *Termainn*, was the safety afforded by a certain place; protection was the safety, which one person afforded in right of some power within himself, and not limited to any particular place, but at large, when accompanied by the protector's presence, or by some sign or token from him.

" The limits of a *termainn* or *sanctuary* were settled and fixed, by the council of the nation, lay and ecclesiastical, and were limited or extended, according to the rank of the church."

The foregoing remarks, on this subject of *Corbes*, *Erenachs* and *Termon lands*, seem to me not inappropriately introduced, into the present biography, as they may serve to illustrate the state of affairs, that prevailed in the Irish church, during, and subsequent to, the life time of our Saint. It must be allowed, that other questions of equal or even greater correlative importance might claim insertion, also, in this place; but, these dissertations will be found, more appositely introduced, in an enlarged hagiological and national work, preparing for future publication. That St. Malachy had to endure most vexatious opposition to his desires and endeavours for the advancement of religion, throughout his ecclesiastical province, owing to the abuses of the prevailing system of lay incumbencies and ecclesiastical land tenures, must appear evident, from what has been already stated, and from the incidents of his career, as narrated in the succeeding chapter. And, it must be admitted, that the trials he had to surmount, in the disinterested exercise of his episcopal and legative administration, were of a truly formidable character; because the strong arm of secular power, private interest and mercenary motives had been sustained by prescriptive social usages and national customs of long continuance. Few men there were possessed of those characteristics, of a great zeal tempered with consummate prudence, of an indomitable energy sustained by a patient forbearance, of courage and fortitude united with mildness and

suavity, and of active administrative capacity, for the interests of the church of God, inspired and invigorated by pious exercises and religious meditation: in Malachy, however, these rare combinations of character were developed and illustrated. When fully exercised by him—as undoubtedly they were—we should hardly feel surprised, at the happy result of his unwearied exertions, in the cause of religion and social progress; especially, when we take into account the efficacy of Divine Grace, working through an instrument, so signally beatified with favours from on High, and faithfully co-operating with the gifts of Providence.

CHAPTER XIV.

Malachy designs the erection of a stone Oratory at Bangor.—Encouraged in his project by a vision.—Obstacles in the way.—Opposition of the lay incumbent, at Bangor.—His death, and the false charge preferred against the Saint.—The accuser miraculously punished.

It is natural to suppose, that the impressions, excited in the mind of Malachy, by his travels through other countries, would have had their influence on him, in creating a desire to imitate whatever seemed conducive to the interests and solemnity of religion. The large ecclesiastical edifices erected in France* and Italy, at the time, and the com-

* The architectural progress of France, during the eleventh century, is thus described in the excellent little work, *Manuel d'Archeologie Religieuse, Civile et Militaire, par J. O. cure de B.* "Au XI Siecle, s'etablit une sorte de renaissance dans les arts et l'architecture ; par tout un changement notable et un progres visible se manifesterent dans l'art de construire, au meme temps qu'une activite prodigieuse prenoit la place de l'apathie et de l'abattement qui etaient devenus generaux dans le siecle precedent. . . . . Le meme changement dans l'architecture se manifesta aussi en Angleterre lors de la conquête par les Normands, et ses progres ne furent pas moins rapides qu'en France." *Partie II. Moyen Age, C. II. Art. II. p.* 85. Of this period, also, the *Quarterly Review* remarks :—"The incidental mention of the English churches induces us to remark, that the description which has thus far been given of the churches of the continent, may with little alteration be applied to this country also, which commonly received from France or Italy both its plans and architects." *Vol. I. No. III. p.* 134. "It has appeared that France was a century before England in splendour of design and richness of execution, in all those happy combinations of effect to which the use of the pointed arch led the way." *Ibid. p.* 140.

So early as the sixth century, St. Felix, bishop of Nantes, erected a magnificent cathedral, within the walls of his episcopal city. This building had been projected, by his predecessor, in that see. It is said to have been composed of three naves, the middle compartment of which was supported by large pillars. A great cupola was raised in the middle, and the church was covered with tin. The latter covering is used very generally, for the French Catholic Churches of the present day, in Lower Canada, and these roofs, beneath the glare of sun-light, present dazzling objects, on either side, to the eye of the traveller, as he sails along the noble river St. Laurence. Within the antient church of Nantes were to be seen decorations, in gold, azure, mosaic paintings, foliage, various figures and ornaments. St. Felix, the founder of this church, died on the 8th of January, in the year, 584. See, *Fortunatus Lib. III. cap.* 4, 5, 6, 7, and *Lobineau's Vies des Saints de Bretagne. p.* 121.

paratively smaller erections of a like character in Ireland, induced a determination on his part, to endeavour, by the construction of a large stone building at Bangor, in place of the first wooden structure, to raise a suitable monument, to the dignity and impressiveness of religious worship.* But, although the desires of Malachy were earnestly bent on this object, the means at his disposal fell far short of the contemplated design. He trusted, however, more in the Divine assistance to supply his deficiencies, than in the aid to be expected from man. The necessities of Malachy and of the band of his disciples, at Bangor, were such, as to interpose a serious obstacle to his project. He consulted the monks frequently, on this subject; but, notwithstanding the prevailing opinion amongst them, that their poverty would render useless the prosecution of such a work, our Saint was not discouraged. He addressed himself in humble prayer to the Almighty God, and sought the manifestation of the Divine will, on this, as on all other occasions. And the designs of the holy man seemed to meet with the approbation of the Almighty, who providentially furnished the means required for his undertaking. Although, the Saint set little value on the possession of money; yet, as it became a means requisite to accomplish a holy object, it pleased God to bestow upon his servant a treasure, that had been buried, apparently in the land belonging to the monastery of the Saint. The Lord, to whom the earth "and the fulness thereof"† belong, was pleased in this remarkable manner to reveal its hidden material treasures, to promote his spiritual interests and glory, during Malachy's administration, and about the period when he was meditating the erection of his church. The holy bishop felt no desire to hoard up treasures, on his own account, nor even to supply the necessities of the community, over which he presided; for his trust was placed in the providence of that God, whom he served, and who had been ever bountiful, in the hour of need. Having received an unlooked for treasure, from the Almighty, he judged it necessary to expend it entirely, on the religious work he had projected.

When returning towards home, on a certain day, he was favoured with a vision of a large stone oratory, which appeared at a distance, and in a particular location. It seemed beautiful in design and ornament, and commanding, as to position; and all the said particulars were so exactly noted by our Saint, that he thereupon took the resolution of constructing his intended oratory, on such a model, respecting its form, size and situation. This vision was seen by some of the senior brothers of the monastery, to whom it was revealed by Malachy. Thus, like another Moyses, who had been taken up to the mountain to behold in

* Harris says of our Saint, "he built a stone oratory at *Bangor*, like what he had seen in other Parts; which is said to be the first of the sort that was erected in *Ireland*." *Harris' Ware. Vol. I. Archbishops of Armagh. p.* 56. But Harris is entirely mistaken, if he supposes there had been no ecclesiastical buildings of stone, in our country, previous to the erection of this Oratory at Bangor. That delusion is too transparent, at the present day, to merit a serious refutation. More than abundant evidence, to the contrary, is afforded, in that splendid and standard work of Dr. Petrie, entitled, *The Round Towers and Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland. Passim.*

† *Psalm XXIII.* 1.

spirit the model of a tabernacle, and the necessary ornaments thereof, Malachy might also conceive himself, as having heard that mandate of the Lord, in reference to the designed edifice, " Look and make it according to the pattern, that was shown thee in the mount."* And, literally might the passage, from the inspired writings, be applied to him, if as appears probable enough, he stood upon any one of the gentle eminences, that circle, in a crescent form, the present delightfully situated town and beautiful bay of Bangor.

But other obstacles were presented. The person, on whom the possessions and resources, justly belonging to the Monastery of Bangor, devolved, behaved in a most ungrateful and insolent manner to the Saint and to his community, both at the time of the bestowal of these benefits and afterwards. He proved himself, if not an open opposer, at least, a secret and most dangerous enemy, by his calumnies and covert machinations, against the purposes and actions of the Saint. This man had an only son, a faithful imitator of his ungrateful parent, and equally hostile to the man of God. When all preparations for the building had been made, and the foundations began to rise above ground, the extent and solidity of the projected structure became apparent, and raised admiration amongst the people of the surrounding neighbourhood, who were not yet acquainted with erections of equal magnificence.† But, the envy of the wicked son was much excited, on account of the general favor bestowed on the projector and the work, by the people at large; by malignant remarks, secret detraction and open invectives, he sought to oppose the completion of the work, and excite prejudices against the holy bishop. He told the people, that the erection of such a building was a proof of his pride and ambition; that it was a novelty, which should not be introduced in the country; and that the cost of its completion would be enormous.‡ " Support me in my resolution," said he, " and we will not

* *Exodus. XXV.* 40.

† The earlier stone churches of Ireland were very rudely constructed; but, there is no just reason for the assertion of Mabillon, when speaking of this stone oratory, that a building of the like material had been heretofore " nusquam in Hibernia visum." *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti. Tomus VI. Lib. LXXVII.* §. *XLVII. p.* 316. Even, at Bangor, the present erection of a stone church, by St. Malachy, was not the first constructed of that material. For, in *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters. Vol. II. pp.* 886 to 889, we read at the year 1065. " Donnchadh Ua Mathghamhna, King of Ulidia, was killed by the Ulidians themselves, in the Daimhliag [stone church] of Beannchair." This passage, from our old annals, appears to have eluded the researches of Mr. Petrie, in his *Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland.* In a letter from Mr. Hanna, dated, Downpatrick, 5th November, 1858, and addressed to the writer, my attention was first directed to the foregoing circumstances. Mr. Hanna, calls the monarch, in question, Donogh O'Mahany.

‡ It will be recollected, that according to the Ulster Inquisitions, the duty of maintaining and repairing the churches, devolved on the Herenachs, with their other obligations. As the practice of granting Erenachies appears to have had its origin before the time of St. Malachy, and to have been sufficiently illustrated by its abuses, in the present instance, we may well conceive what obstacles were frequently placed in the progress of all that was required for the suitable observances of Religion, through the interested motives of many of those who retained the office of Erenach. As it is probable, a very considerable portion of the charges requisite for building the Oratory, in question, must devolve on the Erenach of Bangor, in

suffer that to be undertaken, in spite of us, which ought only to proceed from ourselves." Wherefore, having brought many persons to his way of thinking, proceeding in company with them, to the place where the building was commenced, and finding Malachy present, he addressed the Saint in these artful terms: "O good man, what hath induced you to introduce such a novelty into our country? We are not Gauls but Scots.* Whence this levity? What need have we of so useless and splendid a building? or how can you reconcile the cost of its erection, with your professed poverty? Wherefore such presumption, as to begin a work, you cannot expect to finish, nor to see perfected? It is even more indicative of an insane, than of a presumptuous person, to attempt things surpassing our means, our strength, and our abilities. Therefore, abandon your undertaking, and avoid this folly: otherwise we shall neither aid you in your design, nor suffer you to prosecute it."† But, many of those who accompanied him, on

virtue of the inseparable engagements, annexed to his office, and established by law and custom; we may well conjecture, that his avarice and self-interest, in a great measure, prompted his arguments, to dissuade our Saint from his noble architectural scheme of building. It is also probable, that many of the persons to whom these arguments were addressed were also Termoners, and likely to be actuated by similar interested and unworthy motives.

* The Irish were as often called by the name of Scots, as the people of North Britain. Ireland is named *Scotia Major* by old writers, and Scotland, *Scotia Minor*. Regarding the people of the latter country Tillemont says: "Les Scots ou Ecossais venoient aussi de l'Hibernie, ou ils ont demeure long-temps. Ils passerent enfin de la dans la grande Bretangue sous un chef nomme Keud, et de gre ou de force ils eurent pour eux une partie des pays que les Picts occupaient, c'est-a dire, la partie a plus Occidentale. . . . . Leur langue, et leur coutumes ont long-temps marque qu'ils venoient d'Irlande." *Histoire des Empereurs. Tome VI. p.* 188.

† It is probable, that the opponent of Malachy at Bangor, when the saint designed the erection of the stone oratory there, was a person altogether distinct from his maternal uncle, already mentioned, who dedicated himself, with the church property he held, to the services of religion. I am inclined to believe, this dissentient was no immediate relation of our Saint, although it is likely he was one of the ecclesiastical tenants, or Erenachs, living on the monastic or church property. From the circumstance of the maternal uncle of St. Malachy possessing the church property of Bangor, at one time, it might be fair to infer, that the mother of our Saint had been a native of the northern part of the county of Down. The Rev. Mr. King, in his *Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh*, in a note, at *p.* 92, insinuates, that Murtogh O'Hanratty, Abbot of Bangor was St. Malachy's maternal uncle. But, his statement and reasoning are by no means conclusive. The O'Hanratty's were not seated in the Ardes of Ulster, but were chief of Ui-meath-macha, in the county of Monaghan. See, *Dr. O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters. Vol. II. n.* (z.) p. 796 at A.D. 1019 [*recte* 1020.] Also, *The Book of Rights, n.* (a) *pp.* 150, 151. And, there is further confirmation of this statement, in the Topographical Poem of O'Dugan, where we read,

> Lord of O'Meth Macha, undisputed,
> Is O'Hanratty of the great preys,

as stated in Owen Connellan's Translation of the *Annals of the Four Masters, note, p.* 603. And in Dr. O'Donovan's edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. II.*, at the years 1107 and 1131, (the very period in which St. Malachy flourished) we find, that the O'Hanratty's were the chiefs of Ui-Meath-Macha. (See pp. 984, 985, 1038, 1039.) The latter territory is to be distinguished from Ui-Meath-Mara, near Carlingford. (See *The Book of Rights, n.* (a.) *pp.* 148, 149. We may then safely conjecture, that as the O'Hanratty's were not located in Down, St. Malachy's mother was not of their family.

seeing the calm resolution exhibited in the looks and manner of Malachy, changed their minds, on a sudden, and seemed favourably impressed with the feasibility of the undertaking.

To all these remonstrances of his persecutor, the holy bishop replied:—"Unhappy man, the work which you see commenced shall undoubtedly be completed, although you desire it not; and many shall live to see it finished. But, because you do not desire to witness its completion, you shall not see it perfected; and your own death, which you least desire, shall take place before that period—hence I warn you not to die impenitent."* The prediction of the Saint was accom-

In a letter received from Mr. Hanna, and dated Downpatrick, October 26th, 1858, that gentleman discusses the question of St. Malachy's maternal descent, in the following terms. Alluding to the name of our Saints' mother, he says:

"My own impression decidedly is that she was of the family of O'Gilmore or Mac Giölla Muire otherwise O'Morna who were chiefs at one time of Lecale and Ui Earca Chem, certainly very shortly after St. Malachy's time. The latter territory bordered the North West part of Loch Cuan or Strangford Lough, and I strongly suspect that the church of Rath Easpuic Innic, mentioned in the Tripartite as having been erected by St. Patrick there is the present Castle Espic on the margin of the Lough. The territory in more modern times was sometimes written by the English scribes Slught-*henrickes* and Slught-*benderkeyes* for which and the ancient names you will see a great deal in the Book of Rights p. 161, etc., and Reeves' Down and Connor pp. 339 and 348. In 1599 (Reeves 339) the Mac Guilmores occupied the *northern part of the Ards*, that is the district around Bangor. Book of Rights, p. 163. O'Donovan quotes from Ware's Annals two notices of this family, and writes it was difficult to say where Ware got them, but you will find them in Thady Dowling's Annals under 1407, rolled into one, the soubriquet "Corbi" being wanting. It strikes me that even in 1407 the Mac Guilmores were lay Corbes of Bangor, and thence the origin of the term, applied by Ware to Mac Adam.

"The family of Mac or O'Gilmore is still in this county, but the name has been changed to Mc Ilmurray, and in one instance simply Murray. The Murrays of Carrickmannon, have preserved themselves Catholic in the midst of the Scotch Presbyterian colonists in the Parish of Killinchy, and have a very handsome chapel in their own *locale*, annexed to the Parish of Saintfield. The landlord is Lord Dufferin."

In a subsequent letter, received from the same gentleman, and dated Downpatrick, Feb. 4th, 1859, he observes:

"Bye the way, in reference to a former statement of mine, that the saint's mother was of the family of the Mac Gilmores, now Murrays, I do not recollect whether I mentioned to you, my having afterwards accidentally lighted upon the following extract in Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore, p.* 16., where he writes:

"An antient record of the diocese of Down states that in the year 1034, "'Cathalan Mc Muriedaig regnavit in Ardo.' Cod. Clarend. Vol. XLVI. p. 97, No. "4793, Brit. Museum." Well certainly, I think this is coroborative of my views, both as to the Kings of Ardes and the period of St. Malachy."

* It would doubtless afford a curious subject for antiquarian research, to investigate the style of building, that had been previously erected, at Bangor, by St. Malachy, and which it had been intended to replace, by the present stone structure. That the material of the former was plained wood, beautifully and firmly put together, we have already seen. St. Bernard, also, tells us, that it was erected within a few days, and hence we may infer, that with probably the assistance of only a few workmen, its dimensions were not very great. It is probable, from these known characteristics, that the original wooden structure, at Bangor, bore a considerable resemblance, to the log or frame churches, to be seen, at present, in the backwoods, and even in the remote towns and villages of Canada, and the United States of America, as also, perhaps, in other parts of the world. Such structures are usually plain and comparatively inexpensive, whilst they are often very commodious, and admit of a certain amount of ornamentation. When the materials

plished, by the death of this unhappy man, which happened before the close of the same year. Hereupon, the father of the unfortunate man, being informed of this prediction, cried out, that the Saint had occasioned the death of his son; and through the instigation of the spirit of darkness, he accused Malachy of falsehood and lying before the Prince and Chiefs of Ulster, and heaped upon him all kinds of reproaches. It is more than probable, he dared not prefer the false charge of murder, on account of the well-known character of the Prelate, for holiness and meekness. But Malachy, like his Divine Master, who, when reviled, reviled not again, held his peace, and listened patiently to the reproaches of his accuser. The charges preferred were of too groundless a nature to merit attention, and the Saint was honorably acquitted.

But, the judgment of Almighty God was manifested, in a miraculous manner, on the accuser: for, on his return home from the tribunal the same day, he was seized with madness, and foamed at the mouth, with a great agitation of mind and body. During his phrensied state, he fell into a fire, from which he was rescued by his attendants; although, not without having suffered from the flames, which injured a part of his body. His words and actions struck terror into the hearts of his attendants, who endeavoured to restrain him. The holy Prelate, whom he had denounced, was sent for, and he came: at the request of the friends of the maniac, Malachy poured forth the most earnest prayers for his recovery. These prayers were heard, and the disordered senses of the sufferer were restored. St. Bernard relates, that at the period he wrote the life of our Saint, it was believed, that this man yet survived; although, at stated times, he suffered the punishment due to his crime, by lapsing into frequent fits of insanity. The possessions of this man, on account of his imbecility of mind and incapability of holding them, reverted to the original owners.* Thus, after much

had been previously prepared, the writer has known of instances, in which such churches have been erected, within a few days, and certainly, within a much less space of time, than a week. I think it also probable, from St. Bernard's description of the first wooden oratory, at Bangor, that it was a sort of framed erection, covered with thin boards or shingles. A very tolerable idea of the class of building imagined would probably find embodyment, in the church of the missionary Oblate Fathers of Mary Immaculate, at Inchicore, in the immediate vicinity of Dublin, saving some of the details and materials employed. The erection of the latter temporary church was completed within an incredibly short period of time, and the suggestions for its construction were furnished by a returned emigrant Irishman, who superintended the voluntary and unremunerated workmen, employed in the machine shops of the Great Southern and Western Railway Company, for whose accommodation the structure had been specially designed.

* This particular instance serves to demonstrate, that at this early period, the Erenach lands of abbeys and churches were not inalienable in the sept, by whom they had been enjoyed. It would appear, that owing to the reason of the possessor's mental incapacity, the lands, according to the words of St. Bernard, "in pace ad locum, cujus extiterant, redierunt," and this during the life time of the tenant in question, for St. Bernard remarks, he was supposed to have been living subsequently to the death of St. Malachy. Thus, would it seem, that the *Dominium perfectum*, as recognised in the civil and ecclesiastical laws, was vested in the church or abbey, to which the lands belonged; whilst the *usus* or *ususfructus* of their farms was assigned to the Termoners, who held from the representatives of the church or abbey.

disturbance, the peace so long sought for by the holy Prelate, was at length obtained.

Besides, the miraculous manifestation of the Almighty's will, to our Saint, before he commenced the building of his Oratory, at Bangor, he had a vision of similar import, before he engaged on the religious foundation, situated at Sabhall-Phadraig.* As already observed, this place is identical with Saul, in the county of Down. To what precise time, the monastery and community of monks established by St. Malachy, at this place, must be referred, no record is left, whereby it can be determined; but, it seems probable enough, that the foundation may be safely assigned to the period, when our Saint administered the ecclesiastical affairs of the Church of Down.† We have already seen, that according to the accounts of our historians, a church or monastery had been established, at this place, by St. Patrick, as early as the year 432; which is said to have been repaired, by our Saint, in the twelfth century. It is placed amongst the houses, belonging to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine.‡ It cannot, however, be supposed, that it had belonged to them, since the days of St. Patrick; for, there were no such Canons in Ireland, nor even were they established, in any other part of the world, until many centuries after the death of St. Patrick. It is also said, that St. Malachy rebuilt or repaired his Cathedral Church of Down; but, the year in which this work was accomplished is not mentioned.§

CHAPTER XV.

Prophecies of Malachy.—He names the day and place of his departure from this world.—Discharge of his Legative Duties.—Founds and restores many Churches.—Convokes a Synod, at Holmpatrick.—Departs for France, and sails first to Scotland.—Refused a passage from England.—At length sets sail and proceeds to Clairvaux.

There are many prophetic declarations attributed to St. Malachy, several of which depend on the authority of his biographer, the illustrious Abbot of Clairvaux. The most famous of his predictions, but the one least authenticated, is that known as a prophecy concerning the Popes

* *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XXVIII.* §§ 61, 62, 63, *pp.* 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515. *Opera S. Bernardi, Tomus II.*

† Archdall says, that "Malachy O'Morgair, whilst bishop of Down, rebuilt this abbey with stone." *Monasticon Hibernicum. p.* 128. For this statement he cites, *War. Mon.*

‡ See, *Harris' Ware, Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland. chap. XXXVIII. p.* 265. It is sufficiently probable, that monks of the denomination mentioned were here established, by St. Malachy; although, it may be questioned, whether it had not been one of the Cistercian houses, said, by St. Bernard, to have been derived from Mellifont.

§ See, *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol. IV. chap. XXVII.* § *X. p.* 129. For this statement, Dr. Lanigan cites *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland, chap. XXIX.*, at the County of Down, *Ibid. n.* 67. *p.* 130.

of Rome, from Celestine the Second, to the end of the world.* In this pretended prophecy, the characters of the different Pontiffs, or the most remarkable circumstances that apply to their Pontificate, are supposed to be designated, by corresponding epithets. Many incidents, in the life of our Saint, are recorded by St. Bernard, to prove the possession of a prophetic spirit, by his dear friend and Father in the Church; and many wonderful relations of the illuminating knowledge, derived from inspiration, are furnished in corroboration of his opinion.

Once upon a time, when passing through a certain city, the report of his arrival had attracted a large crowd. Amongst the rest, his eyes rested on a youth, who, like another Zacheus,† climbed a slight elevation, whence he might behold the bishop on passing. Standing on tip-toe, with extended neck, his eyes and soul seemed intently fixed, on the object of his admiration. No notice of the circumstance escaped the lips of Malachy, at the time; but, he treasured the occurrence in his memory, and at night, when assembled with his brethren in the hospice, he alluded to what he had seen, and declared that this youth had come thither, with the spirit and virtue of Zacheus. On the third day from this, the young man presented himself to our Saint, being accompanied by a nobleman, who was his master. The latter, explaining the earnest desire of the youth to become a disciple of Malachy, entreated the Bishop to receive him, on his own recommendation. Malachy at once recognised his features and said, "There is no need for human commendation, when God is pleased to recommend him." Taking him by the hand, he presented him to the Abbot Congan, to whom St. Bernard dedicated the life of our Saint, and after this presentation, he was introduced to the brethren present. He entered the Cistercian Order, and was afterwards first lay brother at the monastery of Suriense.‡ According to the best accounts St. Bernard could obtain, when he wrote the life of Malachy, this monk was then living.

* It is generally allowed, that this prophecy was a fabrication of the partizans of Cardinal Simoncelli, to promote the interests of their favorite, and his advancement to the papacy, in the conclave held in the year 1590. It was first spoken of in the commencement of the seventeenth century. The silence of nearly 500 years, regarding this prophecy, furnishes a conclusive proof of its want of genuineness. See the *Traite sur les Prophetics attribuées a St. Malachie*, par Menestrie. Le Baron Henrion, in his work, *L'Histoire de la Papaute*, mentions the prophecies of St. Malachy. (*Vol. II. p.* 24, *2d Paris Edition*, 1835). See also the Italian work of Jean Germano, who, it is said, has published an excellent book on the Life, actions, and prophecies of St. Malachy, entitled, *Vita, gesti e predizioni del padre San Malachia. 2 vols. 4to. Naples*, 1670. I regret very much I have not been able to procure a copy of this work.

† *Luke XIX.* 2, 3, 4.

‡ The particular location of this monastery, and the exact date of its foundation, appear to be much questioned. Dr. Lanigan supposes it to have been one of the five Cistercian establishments, mentioned by St. Bernard, and, in all probability, the oldest of them, with the exception of Mellifont. He supposes the name *Suriense* to be convertible into *Suriam*, and that the place where it was situated was somewhere near the river Suir. In a note he adds: "Ware (*ib.* at *Tipperary*) makes mention of the Cistercian abbey of Inislaunaght, or De Surio, a place near the Suir three-and-a-half miles west of Clonmel. He says, that it was founded in 1159, while others make it later. If so, it was different from the one mentioned by St. Bernard. But perhaps it was only re-founded or newly endowed after St. Bernard's death; or, as Ware observes, the monks of the former De Surio, or Surium, might

On another occasion, when our Saint offered up the Holy Sacrifice, a deacon approached him, in the discharge of his peculiar office, at the time. But Malachy had a revelation, regarding the internal state of this deacon, and knowing that some sin had defiled his soul, the Saint sighed deeply, and after the holy sacrifice had been completed, asked his attendant, in secret, if his conscience were at rest. The deacon confessed to him, that during the preceding night, he had suffered injury to his soul, by yielding to a temptation of the Devil. Malachy enjoining penance on him observed, "On to-day you should not have ministered, at the Altar; but having modestly withdrawn from the sacred rites, and deferred taking part in such great and sublime mysteries, you would have been able to assist in a more worthy manner, having been chastened by this exercise of humility." Whilst offering up the Holy Sacrifice, on another day, and praying during the time of its celebration, with his accustomed holiness and purity of heart, a deacon, who was assisting, saw a dove enter the windows of the church. A great brightness surrounded the celebrant of the mass, and the light throughout the whole church was dazzling. The dove, after flying about for a time, at last settled on the cross, which stood before the face of the celebrant. The deacon felt astonished at the unusual occurrence, as the dove was a strange bird in that part of the country, and fearing also that some accident might happen to the lights, which surrounded the altar, he fell upon his face, and with palpitation of heart, he scarcely dared to arise, even when the duties of his office demanded it. After Mass, he was called aside by Malachy, and ordered on no account to report the vision he had seen; at least, until after the death of our Saint.

At another time, St. Malachy, accompanied by a brother Bishop, being in the city of Armagh, arose in the night time, and entering the cemetery of St. Patrick, where many holy persons were buried, he offered up his prayers at the various tombs. On a sudden, one of the altars seemed enveloped in flames. Both bishops were witnesses of this prodigy; but St. Malachy, transported with zeal, ran up to the altar, and embraced it with outstretched arms, as he believed this to be a sign of the sanctity of a particular departed person, or of some holy persons whose bodies lay beneath. Whether he suffered any injury, or what took place at the altar, was unknown even to his companion; it was remarked, however, that on his departure from this miraculous fire, the flame of heavenly love seemed to burn with greater intensity, in his heart.

From the foregoing, and similar occurrences, the disciples of our Saint knew that Malachy was not only gifted with the spirit of prophecy, but also, that he had been signally favoured with heavenly

have removed to Inislaunaght. I have remarked elsewhere *(Not.* 69 to *Chap. XVII.)* on the mistakes of Colgan, Harris and Archdall relative to this place. Lynch was inclined to think, *(Cambr. evers. p.* 169), that Surium was the same as Shrowl in the county of Longford; but, as he objects to himself, the monastery of Shrowl is said to have been founded in 1150 or 1152, and consequently after the death of St. Malachy. Besides, the name is much different from *Surium.*" *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVII.* § *X.* and *n.* 64. *pp.* 128 130.

revelations. St. Bernard declares, that only a few of his miracles are related; although, in his own time, the age for miraculous manifestations appeared to have lapsed. According to the expression of the Royal Psalmist, to that period might be applied; "Our signs we have not seen, there is now no prophet: and he will know us no more."* Hence, it would appear manifest, that the dear friend of the abbot of Clairvaux must have been almost an exception in the land, on account of his virtues and the miracles he so frequently wrought. Our Saint was distinguished, for all the heroic observances and spiritual powers of the holy men, who flourished during the brightest ages of the Church. If we only attend to what has been already recorded of him, we will find, that he had obtained from the Almighty the spirit of prophecy and revelation, the faculty of converting sinners and of bringing their impious designs to nought, the gift of restoring to health, and even of raising the dead to life. The Lord, who in all things loved, adorned and blessed him, caused the Saint to be magnified in the sight of Kings, and bestowed on him a coronal of glory. This divine love was proved, by the virtues of the Saint, and this adornment was manifested, by his miracles: his exaltation and renown were divulged, far and near, by the vindication of divine justice, against his enemies and persecutors, and by the rewards, which were showered on the holy bishop. In all these instances, we have matter afforded us for admiration, as likewise for our imitation. And, from the premises already laid down, the conclusion of our Saint's labours might with certainty be predicted. Having spent a holy life in the service of his Creator, that life must of necessity be terminated by a death, precious in the sight of the Lord.†

Being asked on a certain occasion, by his disciples, who had often amongst themselves discussed the question, in what place he would desire to die, in case that choice rested with him, he declined giving an answer; but, on pressing him for a reply, he said, "Should I remain in my native country, I desire nothing more earnestly, than that it would be permitted me to arise from the tomb, in company with our holy Apostle, St. Patrick. But, should I go abroad, and that God so willed it, I would select Clairvaux." Then being asked the day, on which he would wish to depart, he replied, on the solemnity of All-Souls' Day. And the place and day named are associated with the closing scenes of his life.

During the discharge of his Legative authority, the cares and labours, that devolved on Malachy, were incessant and onerous, but were faithfully performed. His jurisdiction in the island extended over the Northmen or Danes, who were chiefly settled in the principal maritime cities, and over the natives of the country. The clergy and laity of Ireland received all his decisions, with the most implicit reverence; and the canonical decrees, promulged at the various councils, that were held by him, all tended to the perfection of ecclesiastical discipline and to the promotion of morals. His alms to the poor were

* *Psalms* LXXIII. 9.

† *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ Cap. XXIX.* §§ 64, 65, 66. *pp.* 1515, 1516, 1517. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

unmeasured, and his contributions towards pious objects and uses were only bounded by inadequate means. He preached the gospel with fruit and fervor; he consecrated many bishops, and ordained a great number of priests and inferior clergy.*

As many of the old churches and monasteries had fallen into decay throughout the island, Malachy laboured in the work of reconstruction and repairing. Many new buildings were erected by him, to supply religious wants, in various quarters. After the construction of these buildings, and laying out the enclosures whereby they were surrounded, he consecrated the different churches and monasteries erected, with their contiguous cemeteries and glebe lands. The latest of these erections and consecrations, of which we find any record, took place in the year 1148. A church is said to have been built at Knocknasengan,† in the county of Louth, (others say at Louth itself,) and to have been covered in by Bishop O'Kelly and Donogh O'Carroll, having been consecrated by St. Malachy O'Morgair.‡ This church was founded

* *Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, p.* 305.

† "This church stood on the hill of Knock, near the town of Louth, but scarcely a vestige of it now remains," *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters. Vol. II. n.* (s.) *p.* 1083. Is it not possible that Bishop Edan O'Kelly and Donogh O'Carroll had been engaged in erecting two separate buildings, one at Knocknasengan, and the other at Louth, both of which had been consecrated by St. Malachy O'Morgair?

‡ "Ecclesia Collis Sengan tecta cooperto ab Episcopo O'Colladhis et a Donchardo O'Carroll, et consecrata ab O'Morgaro Vicario Patricii, et terra sancta, i.e. terra ecclesiastica assignata ei in Lugmadia." *Dr. O'Connor's Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, Vol. III. p.* 761. Ware tells us, that from the Registry of Clogher it appears that Bishop Edan O'Kelly endowed this monastery with lands given to him by Donat. Knock-na-sengan is rendered the *Ant-Hill.* See, *Harris' Ware. Vol. I. Bishops of Clogher, p.* 180. Colgan says: "1148. Ecclesia Lugmagensis constructa per Episcopum Hua Coellaidhe & Donchadum Hua Keruaill *(Orgiellice Principem)* & consecrata per *(Malachiam)* Hua Morgair, Comorbanum *(id est successorem)* S. Patricii; qui & sanctuarium Lugmagiæ constituit." *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ. XXIV. Martii. Vita S. Mochtei. Appendix. Cap. V. p.* 737. This church of Louth, as it is called, appears to have been distinguished by Colgan, from *Cuocna-sengan*, when at the date 1181, he speaks of the death of the abbot Maelmurius or Marianus Hua Dunain, who is supposed by him, to have been identical with Marianus Gormanus, author of the Martyrology. The latter was abbot of Knock-na-Sengan, in 1172, as the preface, prefixed to his Martyrology states. *Ibid.* In *Harris' Ware. Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland. Chap. XXXVIII. p.* 265. the Church of Knock is said to have been *near* Louth, and to have been founded by Donat O'Carol, in the twelfth century. It is distinguished, also, from another Augustinian foundation, *in* Louth, attributed to Donat O'Carol, K. of Ergal, and Edan O'Kelly, Bishop of Clogher, in 1148. Archdall makes a like distinction, and says, that the abbey founded at Louth, in 1148, was the one consecrated by St. Malachy, who also made it a sanctuary. The house thus founded at Louth, he says, was placed under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and was supposed to have been built on the site of the antient abbey, founded by St. Patrick, for St. Mocteus, a Briton. See, *Monasticon Hibernicum. pp.* 466 to 471. Dr. Lanigan says, that, probably, the latter erection was nothing more than the restoratiou of the antient abbey of Louth, from the circumstance of the church being called, as the old one had been, by the name of St. Mary. This conjecture of Dr. Lanigan is I think correct, as our annals relate the burning of the abbey of Louth, in the same year 1148. Dr. Lanigan seems to say, that the abbey of Knocknasengan might have been formerly, in the town of Louth. See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVII. § X. n.* 68. *pp.* 130, 131 *Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum, p.* 471. *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters. Vol. II. pp.* 1082, 1083.

and endowed for Augustine Canons, and was placed under the invocation of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The term of Malachy's labours was fast drawing to a close. One of the principal objects of his solicitude, and for the attainment of which he had formerly taken his departure from Ireland, yet remained to be accomplished. This was the bestowal of the Pallium, which, although long since promised by Pope Innocent,* had not yet been sent. Three Pontiffs had aleady succeeded in the chair of St. Peter; and Eugenius the Third, who was elevated to the Papal throne, in the year 1145, ruled over the affairs of the Church, when Malachy contemplated his second journey to the Continent. For this purpose, he convoked a Synod, to which the bishops were invited. It assembled in 1148, at Inispatrick;† for the three first days of the Council, various matters were discussed and regulated, and on the fourth day, Malachy disclosed his project of presenting himself before Eugenius. It had been reported, that at this juncture, the Pope was about to make a journey to France; and Malachy supposed, as the sovereign Pontiff had been one of the special children of his friend Saint Bernard, that he should, on a proper representation of his design, experience no great difficulty in accomplishing his object. The bishops, although desiring another envoy to encounter the fatigues of travelling, yet, consented to the departure of Malachy, particularly as his journey would be shorter and more easily accomplished, than if he were obliged to visit Rome. Having dissolved the Synod, he prepared to embark, and was accompanied to the sea-shore, by the few persons who obtained leave to follow him. One of these, named Catholicus, who had been often afflicted by epilepsy, for the previous six years, and who owed much to the care and attention of Malachy and to his religious brethren, cried out in a broken voice: "Alas! you are about to depart, and although you are not ignorant of the daily misfortune to which I am exposed, you leave me without assistance. But, if I am deserving of this affliction, in what manner have my brethren offended thee, who day and night are oppressed with care and concern, on my account?" St. Malachy tenderly embraced him, and making the sign of the cross on his breast said, "Be assured you shall not suffer a recurrence of this affliction, until my return."—"From that moment he was no

* Of this Pope Fleury writes, "Il tomba malade et mourut le vingt-quatrieme de Septembre 1143." *Fleury's Histoire Ecclesiastique. Liv. LXIX.* § 1.

† "A synod was convened at Inis-Padraig," say the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1148, "by Maelmaedhog, successor of Patrick, at which were present fifteen bishops and two hundred priests, to establish rules and morals for all, both laity and clergy; and Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair, by advice of the synod, went a second time to Rome, to confer with the Successor of Peter." *Vol. II. O'Donovan's Edition, pp.* 1082 to 1085. Inis-patrick, is an island off Skerries, on the eastern shore of the county of Dublin. St. Bernard does not mention the place, where this council assembled, although he enters into other particulars connected with it. For some interesting particulars, regarding the history of Patrick's Island and the Skerries, the reader is referred to that beautifully illustrated and valuable work of Mr. D'Alton, *The History of Drogheda with its environs, and a Memoir of the Dublin and Drogheda Railway. Vol. I. pp. CXV. to CXX.* On the same subject, this writer treats at more length, in his *History of the County of Dublin, pp.* 440 to 452.

more afflicted," says St. Bernard, "neither shall he suffer, hereafter, as we trust, since after his assurance Malachy did not return."*

When he was ready to embark, two of his particular friends approached, and requested him to grant a special favor. He wished to learn what it might be, but they required his compliance, before they would make it known. He promised at length to grant it. "We desire, then," they replied, "that your eminence would promise us to return in safety to Ireland." Then Malachy, who distrusted the certain fulfilment of his promise, was somewhat troubled, on account of his word already pledged. Although, fearing the least infringement on truth, he renewed this promise, at their earnest solicitation, trusting the result to the direction of Providence. With a few companions, he then entered the vessel, which stood out to sea. But, a contrary wind arose, which drove the vessel back to the Irish coast. Malachy disembarking, at the port to which the vessel was driven, immediately proceeded to a church, where he passed the night in prayer and thanksgiving to God, who had been pleased to fulfil his promise, in such an unexpected manner. In the morning, he went on board, and on the same day, waving a last adieu to the shores of his native country, he sailed over to the Scottish coast.

On the third day after his arrival, he came to a place named Viride Stagnum,† which had been set apart for the construction of an abbey. Having left some of the brethren of the Cistercian Order, who had accompanied him, in this place; he imparted his benediction to them, and proceeded on his journey. David, king of Scotland, hearing of his approach, went forth to meet him, and obliged the Saint to remain with him, for a few days. During this time, many projects for the advancement of religion were designed, by these holy men; and after mutual edification given and received, Malachy took leave of the king and proceeded to the monastery of Gisburn, in England, where dwelt a community of regular canons, who were known to him of old, on account of their virtue and religious observances. Whilst here, a woman was presented to him. She had suffered from a loathsome cancer, which greatly disfigured her features. Water being blessed by the Saint, the place, where the ulcers appeared, was sprinkled therewith, when all pain ceased, and she was healed. On the day following, scarcely any traces of these ulcers remained.

* "Ab illa hora nil tale perpessus est, nil tale (ut confidimus) deinceps perpessurus, quia Malachias deinceps redditurus non est."

† Dr. Lanigan calls this place *Green-Pool*, remarking that it was situated in Scotland, whilst there were some who confounded it with *Viride lignum, Green-Wood*. But the Cistercian monastery at *Viride lignum*, now Newry, was founded some years after St. Malachy's death. See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVII. § XI. and n. 70. p.* 132. The place formerly called *Viride Stagnum*, is now known as Saulseat, which was originally a parish of Wigtonshire, in Scotland. It was afterwards joined to the parish of Inch. Its site will be found, marked on the Map of Wigtonshire, which illustrates Mr. Nicholson's *History of Galloway*, on the borders of a small loch. Saulseat lies nearly midway, in the neck of that western peninsula of Wigtonshire, which lies nearest to Ireland. The ruins of Saulseat are yet visible, and the manse of the parish of Inch is on the site of them. But, these ruins are only traceable in foundations, and even very few vestiges of the latter are now visible.

He passed through England, on his way to France, for about this time Pope Eugenius was expected at the monastery of Clairvaux, and Malachy wished to meet him there, to obviate the necessity of a farther journey to Rome. But, unfortunately, at this time, a dispute had taken place between King Stephen, who then reigned in England, and some of his clergy. The king, in consequence, had prohibited any bishop to leave his dominions, lest he might confer with the Sovereign Pontiff in France, on the nature of this difference.* This jealous prohibition prevented Malachy from immediate embarkation, on his reaching the first port. After some delay, however, permission was given by the king for his departure; but, even at the time of his first preparation to sail from England, the Pope had left Clairvaux, and was on his return to Rome.† This disappointment, however, did not prevent Malachy from visiting his beloved Clairvaux, before setting out for the Eternal City, and he arrived there, about the month of October. He was received with transports of joy, by the holy Abbot, and by his companions.‡ Nothing could exceed the respect and affection, with which he was treated, in this sanctuary of all Christian virtues; and the holy Legate testified his gratitude, more by his actions, than by his words, for the care and attention lavished on him, as a guest.§ All the brethren were gratified, by his affable deportment and the warmth of affection, which beamed forth in the cheerful expression of his countenance, and by the unaffected liberty of soul, which was as far removed from levity, as from that austere deportment, which repels approach, whilst it creates distrust, and prevents a cordial return of esteem and attachment.‖

* Fleury says, "le roi Etienne étoit mal content du pape Eugene, qu'il croyoit ne lui être pas favorable." *Histoire Ecclesiastique. Liv. LXIX.* § *XLI.*

† *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. XXX.* §§ 67, 68, 69. *pp.* 1517, 1518, 1519. *Opera S. Bernardi, Tomus II.*

‡ Here he met St. Gilbert of Sempringham. "Both St. Bernard and St. Malachi loved him well; each of them gave him his staff, that he might take a memorial of them back to England; and St. Bernard gave him a stole and a maniple." *Life of St. Gilbert, chap. VI. pp.* 80, 81. *Lives of the English Saints, Vol. VII.* In a note to this sentence is added: "Gilbert's biographer says, that he alone was present when the two saints, by their prayers, worked a miracle, but what it was is unknown."

§ St. Bernard thus expresses the transports of joy, with which his soul was filled, on the occasion of this visit, in the following terms: "Qui a nobis susceptus est, tanquam verus, ab occidente veniens, visitans nos Oriens ex alto. O quantum nostræ Clarævalli irradians sol ille claritatis adauxit! quam jucundus ad ejus introitum dies festus illuxit nobis! Hæc dies, quam fecit Dominus, exultatum et lætatum in ea! Quam celer et saliens, tremulus licet ac debilis, mox ipse occurri! quam lætus in oscula rui! quam lætis brachiis missam mihi cœlitus amplexatus sum gratiam! quam alacri vultu et animo, mi Pater, introduxi te in domum matris meæ, et in cubiculum genetricis meæ! Quam festivos deinde tecum duxi dies, sed paucos!"

‖ *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XXXI.* § 70. *pp.* 1519, 1520. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

CHAPTER XVI.

Last sickness of the Saint.—Death and Burial at Clairvaux.—Revelation of St. Malachy's beatification vouchsafed to St. Bernard.—The funeral orations of St. Bernard, in which the virtues of St. Malachy are commemorated.—St. Bernard's epistle to the religious communities of the Cistercians, established in Ireland, consoling them on the demise of their holy founder.

Four or five days had already elapsed, since the arrival of Malachy, at the Monastery of the Happy Valley, when the festival of St. Luke the Evangelist, which occurs on the 18th of October, approached, and was solemnized, in a suitable manner. On that morning, our Saint offered up the holy sacrifice of the Mass, with great devotion. Immediately afterwards, he was seized with a fever, which obliged him to keep his bed. At first, it was not supposed to be dangerous; but, the anxiety of the brethren, for his restoration to health, was shown by their eagerness to minister to his necessities, to prepare medicines and apply such fomentations as they judged expedient. The servant of God knowing, however, that the hour of his release, from the prison of the body, was at hand, cried out, "All these attentions will be productive of no effect; yet, to reward your charity, I shall do whatever you command." Those companions, who left Ireland in his train, insisted that he should not distrust his ultimate recovery, as no signs of his death were yet apparent. He replied, "This year, it is decreed, that Malachy shall depart from life," and added, "behold the day approaches, which, as you well know, I have always wished should be that of my death. I know in whom I have placed my trust; and, I am confident, I shall not be deprived of one portion of my desires, as I have already obtained the other. He, who in his mercy hath conducted me to the place I sought, will not deny the time I have equally desired. As regards my body, it shall rest here; the Lord shall provide for my soul, as he saves all those trusting in Him. I have much hope treasured for that day, on which so many benefits are obtained for the dead, through the prayers of the living."

As the crisis of his sickness advanced, no appearance of extreme suffering was visible; his face preserved a natural appearance, his eyes were lively, the countenance was neither furrowed by wrinkles, nor pale and emaciated, the nostrils were not distended, nor the lips contracted, the whole body seemed flexible and muscular. In this manner, he lay in one of the upper apartments of the monastery; but, finding after some time his near approach to death, he requested the last rites of the Church to be conferred upon him. The body of the monks, by whom he was surrounded, prepared to depart, in order to arrange the solemn procession for this purpose, and return; he would not, however, allow them to approach him, as his humility rather prompted him to descend with them, notwithstanding his grievous infirmity. He crept down stairs, received the Holy Viaticum, with Extreme Unction, and then commending himself to the prayers of the monks, and praying to

God for them in return, he with difficulty supported himself to the bed, from which he was not destined to arise with life.

The first of November, the festival of All Saints, was at hand; and, although it was celebrated throughout the world with praise and rejoicing, the inmates of Clairvaux were overburdened with profound sorrow, since it became sufficiently evident, that the days of Malachy were nearly numbered. All the tender care and solicitude, which had been lavished on the idol of their affections, by the holy abbot and monks of Clairvaux, were found to be unavailing towards his restoration. There was every reason to despair of his recovery, and the only consolation, that remained for his kind attendants, was the Christian's hope of an ultimate re-union with him in the mansions of the blessed. The thought naturally recurred to their minds, that as the holy Bishop travelled from his dearly beloved Ireland, to rest his mortal remains in their own cherished France, so must the time shortly arrive, when all his cotemporaries, hastening to the "bourne whence no traveller returns," should hope for companionship with him once more, and that beyond the grave. But the idea of a temporary separation, from their expiring friend, was painful to the natural instincts of St. Bernard and of his community. The Happy Valley seemed to deserve its former appellation, *The Valley of Wormwood*. The Brothers, notwithstanding, assisted at all the solemn exercises; but, tears coursed down their cheeks, whilst they endeavored to sing psalms of praise in the choir. The holy bishop was the only person, in the house, unmoved, and who appeared to celebrate the festival with joy; but, although he was unable to chaunt the praises of the Saints, with the other monks, his serene countenance showed the calm rejoicing that was centered in his mind. Mental prayer occupied his thoughts, when the weakness of his body would not allow him to exercise his vocal organs. He rejoiced with the glorified servants of God, to whose blessed company he would shortly be aggregated, and he devoutly implored the intercession of the Saints. To their merits, he endeavoured to render that tribute of praise, which the members of the future Church of Christ, upon earth, would shortly be obliged to return in his own regard. Hence, the holy prelate had no great reason to join in the lamentations of the friends, by whom he was surrounded, being on the very eve of his glorious translation from this vale of tears, to enjoy the rewards of the blessed in Heaven.

About the hour of twilight, on this day, a remarkable change was observed in his appearance. Whilst the fever continued to increase, a profuse sweat covered his whole body, and coldness throughout his limbs immediately succeeded. The brethren were called to his bedside, and when all of them were assembled, casting his eyes on the group, he said, "With desire I have desired to eat this Pasch with you. I return thanks to Divine Providence, that I have not been frustrated in my desires." As the night advanced, he continued: "Now, I will not say, perchance darkness will oppress me, because this night is an illumination, in my delights. Remember me," he said, "and I will not be unmindful of you, should it be permitted me to assist you, in like manner. And, it will be granted to me, since I have trusted in God, and all things are possible to the person who trusts. I have loved God

and you, and charity never fails." He then raised his eyes to heaven, and cried out, "O God! in thy name preserve these; and, not only these, but all others, who through my preaching and ministry have devoted themselves to thy service." Then imposing his hands on each of them, and imparting his benediction, he motioned them to retire, as his hour had not yet come. All of them obeyed, but about midnight they returned to his apartment. The whole house was filled, as well with the inmates as with strangers. Many abbots were present. Psalms and spiritual canticles were recited, by the assistants, to smooth the departure of the failing spirit, around which the darkness of the world was at that moment diffused, that would shortly be replaced, by the light of heavenly glory. The dawn of a calmer day and of a brighter sphere was stealing on the enraptured vision of the Saint, at that lone hour of midnight; and the chaunt of the angelic choirs was about to burst upon his ears, in triumphant strains, strangely contrasting with the mournful cadences of imploring hymns for the departing soul. On the evening, it is said, of this feast of All Saints, a deeply affecting ceremony took place at Clairvaux. The venerated remains of the first companions of St. Bernard had been removed from the place of their first interment, into a new cemetery. These deceased monks were regarded as saints; it having been revealed to the holy Abbot, that all the brethren, who lived with him, should obtain eternal rest. The joy of St. Malachy was manifested, during this ceremony, which he regarded, as a forewarning of his own dissolution; and, the solemn offices of the Church, as chaunted by the assistants, gave him a foretaste of those angelic concerts, in which his own failing voice was soon destined to mingle.*

The same vivacity of look, the same serenity of countenance appeared in the dying man, as if pain and suffering had been altogether removed. And should we feel surprised, at the changeless appearance of the holy prelate's features, on the approach of death, when during life he had been dead to all the wasting influences of corrupt or deceitful passions, and when, at the moment of death itself, life immortal awaited his departure from earth. He seemed buried in a calm slumber, and the angelic lineaments of his countenance were composed, as became a departing saint. During this momentous interval, the only changes, the near approach of death had made within the chamber, were discernable, in the looks and gestures of the attendants, through the impressions deeply implanted in their hearts, by what they witnessed. Every moment his last breath was expected; but though the eyes of all present were naturally fixed upon the Saint, no one was able to discover the precise moment, at which he ceased to breathe.† The sobs

* See, *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV. Lettre à M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Academie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux, Par Ph. Guignard.* § *II. col.* 1669. *nn.* 2, 3, 4. *Ibid.*

† In a Trinity College MS. Life of St. Malachy, according to the text of St Bernard, I find the following difference of arrangement. At the end of the words, "Mortuus vivere, et vivens mortuus putabatur: (*Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Tomus II. Vita S. Malachiæ. cap. XXXI.* § 74. *p.* 1522). I find the introduction of a portion of the matter to be found, in the second sermon of St. Bernard, "In tran-

and groans of many present were heard, before his departure. As soon as it was known, however, that his spirit was at rest, a requiem hymn was chaunted by the assistants.* Thus died Malachy, in the very place,

situ S. Malachiæ Episcopi." (§ 2, *p.* 2227. *Tomus III. Ibid.*) But, the words, in the MS., that come immediately after "mortuus putabatur," are the concluding ones of a sentence, in the funeral oration, "extitit oppressorum," which of themselves will not make sense. At this passage, there has been a manifest oversight, on the part of the transcriber of the MS. The eulogium of St. Bernard then continues in the MS., with the sentence, "Hilarus dator, petitor rarus, acceptor verecundus," &c., with some differences, between the MS. and Benedictine version, until the words occur, "censuræ diligentia, et circumspectio multa." Here, the writer of the MS. returns to the Life, commencing with the last clause of the sentence, as found in the Benedictine edition, which in his transition he had left incomplete, "adeo nil intercidit, quod alterutrum disterminaret." &c. He then continues, nearly to the close of the Life of our Saint, by St. Bernard, leaving out the last words of the closing sentence: "habeamus ducem, tecum et cum ipso pariter regnaturi in sæcula sæculorum.—Amen." Where the MS. transcriber leaves his sentence incomplete, he again recurs to where he left off, in the *Sermo Secunda in transitu S. Malachiæ*, and continues it, with several incorrections and omissions, when compared with the Benedictine edition of St. Bernard's works, to the commencement of the seventh paragraph. Here, after inserting, "Domum istam decet sanctitudo, in qua tantæ frequenta," we arrive at the last page and unfinished word in the MS. It is quite evident, from the many words purposely left unfinished, and the ungrammatical and vicious coherence of some of the sentences, together with the omissions to be detected, in certain places, that the latter portion, at least, of this beautifully transcribed MS. was the work of a scribe ignorant of Latin, and of one, who perhaps copied from another MS., in which the leaves had been probably misplaced. From a slight inspection, I have not been able to detect errors of such magnitude, in the previous portion of the MS., in question. This MS. which belongs to Trinity College Library, is classed in Dr. Barrett's Catalogue of the MSS. there preserved, as F. 4. 6. It is a vellum fol., with the capitals coloured, and also various pages curiously traced, with two pages illuminated in gold and colours. It may probably be assigned to the thirteenth century. St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy, which it contains, has various readings, from that of the Benedictine edition; the divisions of the chapters are also different, so far as a division of them is marked, in the MS. There are 79 pages, comprised in 40 folios, under the imperfect Life of our Saint, as found in this MS.; whilst the previous part of the MS. is devoted to Jocelyn's Life of St. Patrick, in 187 pages, comprised in 94 folios. This latter life, also, differs in the numbering of its chapters, and in some other particulars, from the published *Vita S. Patricii* of Jocelin, as found in *Messingham's Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum*, published A.D. 1624. Since the foregoing sheets were committed to the press, I have learned from Professor Eugene O'Curry, that there is an Irish translation of St. Bernard's Latin Life of St. Malachy extant, and preserved amongst the MSS. of the Royal Irish Academy. I regret I had not sufficient time to examine the MS., in question, and to compare it with the original Latin. The fact of its existence is however of importance, and deserves to be recorded, for the gratification of all lovers of our native literature.

* In Martene's and Durand's *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Historicorum, Dogmaticorum, Moralium, Amplissima Collectio, Tomus I. p.* 746. *(Editio Parisiis.* 1724. *fol.)*, we find the following hymn, on the death of St. Malachy, attributed to his friend, St. Bernard. It is taken "ex MS. Veteris-Montis," according to the editors of the work, already cited.

Nobilis signis, moribus suavis,
Meritis sanctus, inclytus triumphis,
Hodie carnis pondere levatus,
Migravit antistes.

Nec vacat viro Malachiæ nomen,
Angelum sonans, angelorum signat
Similem esse puritate vitæ,
Gloria parem.

for which he entertained so deep an affection, and on the very day, which he had always desired should be his last. St. Bernard assures us, that a boy, who had come from a great distance, whose hand had been withered and hung uselessly by his side, and who, at his instance, had approached the dead body of the holy bishop, was miraculously healed. The abbot of Clairvaux, having applied the withered hand of the child, to that of the deceased bishop, found the same or nearly similar results, following, as occurred, when the body of the dead man was thrown into the grave, and came in contact with the bones of the prophet Elisæus.* The grace of healing had not departed, from the lifeless body of the holy bishop, even when his spirit had winged its flight to eternal repose. The hand was restored to full strength, and the boy returned home rejoicing. Regarding this miracle, St. Bernard furnishes the ocular evidence and the relation.

The body of St. Malachy was removed to the oratory, on the shoulders of abbots; the funeral rites were duly celebrated, and the

Angelus noster civium suorum
Redditus votis, sociatus choris,
Præminet multis, cœquatur summis
Merito quidem.

Sobrius victus, castitas perennis,
Fides, doctrina, animarum lucra,
Meritis parem, cœtui permiscet
Apostolorum.

Opere vicem, animo virtutem
Tenuit horum præsul et legatus,
Ac per hoc jure etiam honorem
Vindicat sibi.

Signi si quæras, quis referre queat?
Hoc tamen dico, manifesta satis
Mortua surgens quantus in hac parte
Fuit gloriæ.

Christo regnanti sitne ulla nostri
Cura putamus, quos amavit prius
Pauperes, fovit humiles spiritu
Humilis ipse.

Absit ab illo fonte pietatis
Sorte levata segnuis manare:
Absit ut spernat miseros beatus
Orphanos pater.

O Malachia, Claravallis tua
Clarior tui corporis thesauro
Postulet supplex te tuente frui
Pace perenni.

Gloria Patri Filioque ejus,
Gloria tibi, amborum Spiritus,
Una sit tibi quia tres sunt unum
Una majestas.

This hymn is also presented, at the end of the Life of St. Malachy, in the Benedictine edition of the works of St. Bernard, published at Paris, in 1839. 8*vo.* See, *Tomus II. pp.* 1523, 1524. In the late *Rev. Dr. Kelly's Calendar of Irish Saints*, will be found two Latin hymns, differing from the foregoing, but in the same metre. See, *pp.* 175, 176.

* IV. Kings XIII. 21.

most holy sacrifice of the Mass offered. In the life of St. Bernard, which was written by a monk of Clairvaux, named Gaufrid, who was secretary to the holy Abbot of that monastery, and afterwards Abbot himself, we are told of an occurrence, that indicated the happiness of St. Malachy, a short time after his departure. Whilst St. Bernard was engaged, in offering up the victim of propitiation, for the soul of his deceased friend; the holy Abbot had a revelation, from the Almighty, whereby he learned, that Malachy had obtained the beatitude of the saints, in Heaven. Wherefore, having ended the holy sacrifice, he changed the form of prayer found in the Missal; for, instead of offerring up the commemoration for the dead, he at once turned to the collect, which relates to the saints, whose memories are celebrated, as beatified bishops. He substituted the following collect: "Deus qui beatum Malachiam pontificem sanctorum tuorum meritis cœquasti, tribue, quæsumus, ut qui pretiosæ mortis ejus festa agimus, vitæ quoque imitemur exempla." Then, St. Bernard, approaching with reverence, kissed the feet of the saintly bishop, with great devotion. But the holy Abbot of Clairvaux would not afterwards reveal to any person, the manner in which, or the exact time when, he had received his inspiration, from on high, nor would he consent to insert this account, in the Life of St. Malachy, which he afterwards wrote. When, earnestly urged to declare his reasons for this reticence, he answered with great humility, that the matter was of a nature, too strictly personal, as regarded himself.* In the foregoing account, we have as much reason to admire that profound sense of humility and avoidance of human applause, which distinguished the living Saint, as we have to feel gratified, at the signal manifestation of Divine approbation, which served to reveal the eternal felicity of the departed Prelate, to his dear friend, and through him, to the entire church, of which both holy persons were such distinguished ornaments. We may also infer, that whilst St. Bernard was engaged in offering up the holy sacrifice of the Mass, the dead body of St. Malachy had been already laid out, in the place appointed for this celebration. Malachy was buried, in a favorite place, in the oratory of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and his remains were consigned to the tomb, with the usual ceremonies, and amidst the tears and lamentations of the monks.† St. Bernard is silent regarding the pangs, which he himself experienced; but, we may conjecture, what were the natural outpourings of that tender love and friendship, he entertained,

* See the *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV. S. Bernardi Vita Prima. Lib. IV. Auctore Gaufrido. Cap. IV.* § 21. *col.* 333.

† Mabillon says of our Saint, "Sepultus est in ecclesia sub arcu, ibique hactenus in abside ad dexteram tumuli S. Bernardi jacet ejus corpus præter caput, quod in peculiari scrinio in sacrario cum ansato ejus calice asservatur." *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti. Tomus VI. Lib. LXXIX.* § *XXIX. p.* 444. If, as seems to be intimated, in the foregoing account, the relic last named, was the chalice, with which our Saint was accustomed to celebrate the Divine mysteries, its construction must have been very peculiar, and altogether different in shape, from the chalices used at present. It would seem that the cup or chalice in question had been ornamented with one handle, or perhaps an additional number of such appendages. In the *Life of St. Laurence O'Toole*, already published, mention is made of a relic, called a *Hanap* or Chalice, belonging to him, which was taken away from Eu, by the Hugue-

towards the holy Prelate.* Two funeral orations are preserved in his works, in which the virtues and labours of Malachy are celebrated, and exhibited, as bright examples of the manner, in which the high duties of his station were exercised.†

The following version of both these funeral orations is presented, in that order, which they occupy, in the Benedictine edition of St. Bernard's Works. The first of these, which is headed, "In Transitu S. Malachiæ Episcopi," appears to have been a sermon preached by St. Bernard, on some anniversary day of the death of our Saint, and runs as follows:

"A copious benediction from Heaven‡ descends upon you to-day,

nots of Dieppe. See, *Chap. XI. p.* 133. I can find no account of its peculiar shape, but it most probably resembled, in point of workmanship and form, the chalice belonging to St. Malachy, as both were objects used within the same century. It would appear, also, that the Irish Bishops, and, perhaps, inferior ecclesiastics, were accustomed to carry their own chalices with them, when travelling.

* In closing the biography of our Saint, he remarks in the following pious strain: "Et revera quid rationis habet immoderatius plangere Malachiam, quasi non sit pretiosa mors ejus: quasi non sit magis somnus, quam mors: quasi non sit mortis portus, & porta vitæ? Malachias amicus noster dormit, & ego lugeam? Luctus iste usu se, non ratione tuetur. Si Dominus dedit dilecto suo somnum, et tale somnum, in quo hereditas Domini, filii merces, fructus ventris: quid horum videtur fletum indicere? Ego ne fleam illum qui fletum evasit? Ille tripudiat, ille triumphat, ille introductus est in gaudium Domini sui; et ego eum plangam? Cupio mihi hoc, non illi invidio. * * * * Tuum est, Jesu bone, depositum quod nobis creditum est; tuus thesaurus qui reconditus penes nos. Servamus illum resignandum in tempore, quo reposcendum censueris: tantum ut absque contubernalibus suis non egrediatur, sed quem habuimus hospitem, habeamus ducem, tecum et cum ipso pariter regnaturi in sæcula sæculorum. Amen." See, *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. XXXI.* §§ 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

† *In transitu S. Malachiæ Episc. Sermones Duo. Opera S. Bernardi.* Fleury, after relating the date and particulars of our Saint's departure, says, "Saint Bernard fit son oraison funebre le jour même. *Histoire Ecclesiastique. Liv. LXIX.* § *XLI.* But, as there are two funeral orations of St. Bernard, on the death of St. Malachy, we have no positive certainty, that either of them had been pronounced on the day of our Saint's departure or burial, although Dr. Lanigan says, St. Bernard delivered a discourse, on the day St. Malachy's remains were deposited in the oratory of the Blessed Virgin Mary. See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. chap. XXVII.* § *XII. p.* 134.

‡ In the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. III. No.* 67., we find, amongst the MSS. in the Irish, English, French and Latin languages, forming a part of the Burgundian Library, at Brussels, and serving as materials for Irish History, the following notices, taken from Mr. Bindon's Catalogue, and referring to our Saint. "Vol. XXVIII. This volume contains, among other writings of St. Bernard, No. 9648, which is his sermon upon the death of St. Malachy, "Sermo in transitu Malachiæ," commencing, "de cœlo nobis, dilectissimi." This MS. is attributed to the twelfth century, and is perhaps the oldest copy of the writings of this Father. The initial letter is ornamented with a portrait, said to be that of St. Malachy, and of which the following is a *fac simile*." Here is represented a large letter D, within which there is a bust of the figure in question. The lineaments of the features are pretty well drawn, the representation of the countenance being of a noble aud intellectual character. Over the upper lip appears a thin beard, and the chin, on the foremost part, is devoid of this appendage; although, from the ears on either side, and beneath the chin, a beard is observable. The hair, beneath the mitre, as also, over and behind the ears, is represented in full but short wavy curls. The head is surmounted by a mitre, consisting of two very low and rounded peaks, the depression between which is observable, over the centre of the

my dearly beloved brethren; and, if I should not distribute it faithfully, you would experience the loss, and to myself it would prove pregnant with danger, as to my charge, this dispensation seems committed. Wherefore, I both fear your privation, and fear my own damnation, lest, perchance, it be said, "The little ones have asked for bread, and there was none to break it unto them."* I know how necessary is that consolation for you, which cometh from Heaven, since you have intrepidly renounced carnal deceits and worldly enjoyments. Indeed, no one doubts, it has been ordained, by Divine Providence, as a heavenly benefit, that the Bishop Malachy rests amongst you today, and hath his desired sepulchre in the midst of you. For, as not even a leaf falls from the tree to the earth without Divine approval; who can be found, so weak of intellect, as not to perceive the designs of the Deity evidently manifested, in the arrival of this holy man, and in his passage, from amongst us? From the bounds of the world, he hath come to rest his bones here; and, he was known to have earnestly desired this result, through his excessive charity towards us, although a far different cause conducted him hither. During his journey, many obstacles were interposed, nor was he permitted to cross the sea until the time of his death approached, and the goal presented itself, beyond which he could not pass. Through many labours, he arrived amongst us, like an angel sent by God, and we received him with the reverence due to his sanctity; whilst, also, according to his deeply grounded courtesy and humility, he greeted us with devout affection, far beyond our lowly deserts. Then a few days were passed by him, amongst us, in the enjoyment of his usual health, until joined by his companions, who had been separated from him in England, when an unfounded suspicion of its king had detained the man of God. And now, all having been united once more, he prepared to prosecute his journey to the Roman Court, as he had come for this purpose. But, being suddenly seized with illness, he immediately perceived, that he was about to be called to the Courts of Heaven, the Almighty mercifully providing for our happiness, lest on departing from us, his death should occur in some other place.

"To the physicians there appeared no signs in him, I do not speak of death, but even of grievous illness: Malachy, however, said to all

forehead. Pendants or lappets fall from the mitre, (which rather resembles a modern *baretta*,) behind the ears of the figure, and these appendages seem to rest lightly on the shoulders. A *gloriole* surrounds both the head and mitre. The neck of the figure is bare, and the upper part of the garment beneath the neck seems to consist of a full furred or ermine collar, under which, three semicircular embroidered ornaments are observable, in front. A *Dalmatic*, probably a *Pallium*, is intended for representation on the lower part of the bust; and over the latter ecclesiastical ornament, the extended palm of the right hand appears laid on the breast, whilst the fingers of the left hand grasp a book, held in front of the figure. This is as accurate a description of the engraving, as can well be conveyed, by words. The designer and writer continues: "This little portrait is of interest, representing, as is supposed, the features of St. Malachy, and at all events exhibiting the episcopal costume of the times; with this view I thought it worthy of being presented to the reader, and, consequently, made an accurate copy." See, *pp.* 500, 501. *May* 24*th* 1847.

* Lamentations, IV. 4.

around him, with a joyous spirit, that on this year,* he must of necessity depart this life. We endeavoured by devout prayers to God, and in every other available manner, to frustrate his desires; but, his merits prevailed, and the desires of his heart were granted to him, nor was he deprived of the wishes expressed by his lips. For thus, according to his desire, all things concurred, that through the inspiration of Divine Providence, he should especially select this place ; and he had long wished for this day, on which the memory of all the faithful departed is commemorated, to be that of his own demise. And, what has justly crowned our joy is the circumstance, that through the Divine inspiration, the same day† had been selected to bear the remains of our brethern, from the former, to re-inter them in the present cemetery.‡ Whilst they were borne thither, and the usual psalms

* From these words of St. Bernard, "ajebat omnimodis oportere, ut hoc anno Malachias ab hac vita egrederetur," we are not to infer, with certainty, that the Abbot of Clairvaux preached this funeral sermon, on the day or year of our Saint's death. The Latin words used may refer to a year long preceding.

† The obscure manner, in which this sentence is worded in the Latin language, leaves it a matter of difficulty to determine the exact meaning. From the circumstance of our Saint having departed early on the morning of the day of the commemoration of all Souls, or on the second of November, and from the account of Malachy having expressed his delight, at the funeral chaunts of the monks, it would not seem likely, that the re-interment of the bodies took place, during our Saint's last visit to Clairvaux. It would also seem that the day alluded to by St. Bernard, on which the bones of the religious brethren had been removed, must be assigned to the period of Malachy's first visit to Clairvaux, or during the time of his second visit thither, on his return from Rome. Yet, the expression, that our Saint died "non multo post," when this re-interment took place, causes some difficulty, as a period of eight or nine years had elapsed, from the time of Malachy's first leaving Ireland for Rome and Clairvaux, to the date of his death. Perhaps the meaning may be, that the bones of the dead had been removed from their former resting place some day before the death of Malachy at Clairvaux, and hence he would have been capable of expressing the joy he felt at hearing the requiem strains of the monks, on the occasion of their disinterment, although he had not lived out the approaching second of November, the day destined for the deposition of these remains, in the new cemetery. From the account of St. Bernard, we may infer, that Malachy died before the dawn of the second of November, and, consequently, at an hour when it was unlikely such a ceremony would have taken place. It seems probable, also, that the capability of hearing the chaunts of the monks, on that day, was denied him, as his senses appear to have failed him on the feast of All Saints, and he seems to have continued in this state to the moment of his departure.

‡ We are told, that at Clairvaux, the remains of the early monks were to be seen in a subterraneous chapel, before the close of the last century. I think it probable, that when these remains were removed, from the place of their first deposition, the work of exhumation took place, perhaps the day before the Feast of All Saints, 1148 ; for I do not consider the latter day would have been selected for the performance of the manual labour required for this purpose, it having been observed as a holy day of obligation, in France, as early as the ninth century. See, Menard's *Notes sur le Sacram. de saint Grég., p.* 152. Thomassin's *Traité des Fêtes.* As these early monks of St. Bernard were regarded as saints, perhaps their remains were temporarily deposited in an honourable manner in the church of Clairvaux, during the Feast of All Saints, on the day immediately preceding our Saint's departure, whilst the brethren of the monastery chaunted pious canticles or church offices around these relics. It is probable, also, from the expressions of St. Bernard, that they were re-interred in the new cemetery destined to receive them, on the Feast of the Commemoration of All Souls, and on the very day of St. Malachy's death. A stone monument, ornamented with columns and arches, had been constructed, not far from the walls of the church choir, to receive these remains. Here were interred

were sung, the same holy man declared his great delight, on hearing these chaunts; and, at no distant period he afterwards followed, having fallen into his calm and most happy sleep. Wherefore do we render thanks to the Almighty, for all his dispensations, that we were honored by his presence, at the hour of his happy death, and because, by possessing the treasure of his most precious body, although poor we are enriched, it having pleased God to strengthen our weakness, by such a pillar of his church. That it has happened for our benefit, one of two signs fully convinces us, either that the place of the Saint's departure was pleasing to the Almighty, or that he wished to render it pleasing to him, having brought a man of such sanctity from the bounds of the earth to die, and there to be buried.

"But the charity of this holy Father compels the people to lament him the more deeply, and to abhor more vehemently the cruelty of death, which would not spare that direful wound to his distracted church. Truly that death was fatal and inexorable, which, on striking down a single person, brought injury to such a multitude of men; it was undiscriminating and improvident, because it bound the tongue, arrested the steps, relaxed the hands and closed the eyes of Malachy. I repeat it, those were devout eyes, which were accustomed to propitiate the divine clemency, in favour of sinners, by tears; those were most clean hands, which he always desired to employ in laborious and humble works, which had so frequently offered the saving host of the Lord's body, for the wicked, which had been raised to heaven without anger and dissension, and which are known to have afforded so many benefits to the infirm, and to have effected so many miracles; those were gracious steps, which he employed in the Gospel of peace and of good, those feet so often wearied with the zeal of piety, and those

the father, brothers, and uncle of St. Bernard, and after the times of the holy Abbot, the remains of the monks, lay-brothers and novices of Clairvaux were deposited in this new cemetery. With the exception of the remains of the relatives of St. Bernard, in 1269, the bodies of the religious were removed with great solemnity to a vaulted crypt, placed under the high altar of the chapel of the Counts of Flanders, at Clairvaux, Meglinger in his *Iter Cisterciense* gives us an interesting account of these remains, as they were found, in the year 1667. In the *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, we have likewise several interesting particulars recorded, regarding them. Before the crypt of these deceased monks, we are told that the following verses were to be read :

Hic jacet in cavea Bernardi prima propago,
Cujus mens superas possidet alta domos.
Hic locus est sanctus ; venerans insignia tanta,
Supplex intrato, cerne, nec ossa rape.

The following verses were also found inscribed :

Quæ vallem hanc coluit Bernardi prima propago
Hic jacet. Huc intrans, si rapis ossa, peris.

The chapel becoming ruinous, by a decree of the council, dated the 5th of June, 1775, the religious obtained permission to translate the bodies to the church of Clairvaux ; and on the 13th of November of the same year, the remains of the first disciples of St. Bernard were removed and placed in a vault, opposite the chapel of All Saints. At the period of the French Revolution, these remains were again removed from the suppressed abbey of Clairvaux, and were taken to the neighbouring church of Ville sous-La-Ferté, where I believe they are still preserved.

traces, always worthy of veneration, which were pressed with devout kisses; in fine, those were holy lips of the priest, that always kept knowledge, the mouth of the just man, that always meditated on wisdom, and the tongue, which pronouncing judgment, yea, even consolation, was accustomed to heal many wounded souls. But, it is not surprising, my brethren, that death should be unjust, for it is born of iniquity; nor that it should be inconsiderate, being conceived of seduction. It is not to be wondered at, I say, if it strikes without discrimination, having been produced by prevarication; or if it be cruel and fatal, having come to us, from the fallacy of the old serpent, and from the foolishness of a woman. Why should we complain, when it dared to strike down Malachy, the faithful member of Christ, when it remorselessly raged, not only against the head of Malachy, but against the head of all the elect? Although, it prevailed with immunity, nevertheless, it did not escape. Death struck at life, life bound death within itself, and death was swallowed up by life. Having devoured the hook, although death seemed to hold its prey, at that very moment, it was found to have been the captive.

"Yet, some may ask, perhaps, How doth death seem vanquished by the head, as it still rages with such freedom against the members? If death be dead, how hath it deprived Malachy of life? If vanquished, how doth it yet prevail against all, so that there is not one man, who hath lived, and hath not seen death? Death, the work of the Devil, and the executioner of sin, is certainly vanquished sin; the cause of death is overcome; and that malignant spirit, the author of sin and death, is conquered. Nor are these merely vanquished, but even already judged and condemned. The judgment is already defined, but not yet promulged. In a word, fire is already prepared for the Devil, and if he is not now precipitated into the flame, he is yet suffered to continue, in his malignant course, for a short time. He is become as the hammer of the Divine Artist, the hammer of the universal earth, he beats the elect for their own advantage, he crushes the reprobate for their destruction. As the master of the family is, so are his domestics, as sin is, so is death. For although there is no doubt, that sin had been fastened to his cross, by Christ himself; it was yet allowed, for an interval, to dwell within the Apostle himself, but not to reign. I would state what is false, if he had not said of himself, 'Now then it is no more I that do it; but sin that dwelleth in me.'* Thus also, death itself is by no means compelled to be absent, but is obliged to present to us no insurmountable obstacle. And can it do so, as it is said, 'O death, where is thy victory?' when that enemy had been lately destroyed. But now, he being ruled, who hath the empire of life and death, he who restraineth the sea itself by the boundaries of its shores, he who according to the expression of the Prophet, 'When he shall give sleep to his beloved, behold the inheritance of the Lord,'† hath caused death itself to be a refreshing sleep, for the elect of God. The death of sinners, whose birth was evil, and whose life was worse, is yet the most direful; but, precious is the

* *Romans, VII.* 17.

† *Psalms, CXXVI.* 3.

death of the saints.* Truly precious, as being the termination of their labours, as being the consummation of their victory, as being the gate of life, and the entrance to perfect security.

"Wherefore, my brethren, let us congratulate our father, let us congratulate him, in a worthy manner: because it is a pious duty to bewail Malachy, when dead, and still more so, to rejoice with the living Malachy. For doth he not live? Yes, truly, and in a happy manner. Indeed, to the eyes of the foolish, he seemeth dead, but he is in peace. In fine, being now a fellow-citizen with the saints, and a domestic of God, he sings and gives thanks, saying, 'We have passed through fire and water, and thou hast brought us out into a refreshment.'† Truly, he hath passed with courage, and hath happily passed through. He hath celebrated in spirit the true Hebrew Pasch, and whilst passing, spoke to us, 'With desire, I have desired to eat this Pasch with you.'‡ Through fire and water he hath passed, whom neither sadness could overcome, nor pleasure detain. Beneath us, there is a place, which is occupied by fire, so that the miserable rich man connot there obtain the smallest drop of water, from the finger of Lazarus. Above us, there is the city of God, which the flow of the river, the torrent of delights, and the inebriating chalice, renders glorious. Knowledge is conserved in the midst of this good and evil, here must we experience pleasure and tribulation. Unhappy Eve hath brought upon us these vicissitudes. Here is evidently day and night: for in hell is night only, and in heaven only the day. Therefore the soul is happy, which passes through, neither inclining to pleasure nor failing in tribulation.

"I consider it necessary to refer, in a brief manner, to one of many noble actions of this man, in which he is well known to have passed, with sufficient courage, through fire and water. A tyrannical race had claimed the right of creating archbishops to succeed in due course, to the metropolitan seat of that great Apostle of the Irish, Patrick; thus, possessing, by heirloom, the sanctuary of God. Our own Malachy, being asked by the faithful§ to oppose these evils, put himself under the protection of the Almighty, intrepidly advanced, and assuming the Archiepiscopate, exposed himself to manifest danger, that he might put an end to these abuses. During a period of danger, he ruled this church; and, when danger was over, he immediately consecrated another successor, according to the canon law. He had undertaken his charge, on the understanding, that after the rage of persecution would have ceased, another bishop might be safely appointed; and that he, being allowed to return to his proper see, might live without ecclesiastical or secular revenues, in the midst of his religious brethren, like one of themselves. And to the present time, he

* "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints." *Psalms CXV.* 15.

† *Psalms, LXV.* 12.

‡ *Luke* XXII. 15.

§ These expressions seem to prove, that the sympathies of the people were generally in favour of St. Malachy's acts, and in opposition to the usurpers, who were opposed to our Saint.

hath lived, without possessing any special property.* Thus, the fire of tribulation tried him like gold, but did not destroy him, thus, deceit neither held nor dissolved him; neither did he, like a curious beholder, loiter on the way, heedless of the true course of his pilgrimage.

"Which one of you, brethren, would not earnestly desire to imitate his sanctity, if he could dare hope to be successful? Therefore, I believe, that you would more willingly hear, if perchance I shall be able to express, what has been done by the holy Malachy. But least our testimony be considered of little estimation, hear what the Scriptures say, 'He sanctified him in his faith and meekness.'† By his faith the Saint vanquished the world, according to that testimony of John, who says, 'This is the victory which overcometh the world, our faith.'‡ For, in the spirit of mildness, he bore with unruffled mind, every difficult and adverse thing. Hence, by faith, he truly walked after Christ on the waters, lest he might be deluded, through deceit; hence, he possessed his soul, in patience, lest he might be vanquished, by obstacles. Of both we read in the Psalms, 'A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand:'§ for many more fall by fallacious prosperity, than by the scourge of adversity. Wherefore, dearly beloved, delighted with the smooth surface of a softer life, let none of us suppose, that such a passage over the sea will prove more advantageous. This plain hath great mountains, invisible indeed, but the more dangerous, on that account. Perhaps, the way amongst the tops of the hills and the rough passages of the rocks may seem more laborious, but it is found, by those who have tried it, to prove more secure and desirable. Yet, he who hath said, 'By the armour of justice on the right hand and on the left,'|| hath known, that labour and danger are on either side, so that justly may we congratulate those who have passed through the fire and water, and who have been brought to happiness. Do you desire to hear of this happiness? I wish another might be permitted to speak to you concerning it, for I, who have not tasted it, cannot pronounce regarding it.

"But, on this day, I imagine that I hear Malachy speaking of this felicity, 'Turn, O my soul, into thy rest: for the Lord hath been bountiful to thee; for he hath delivered my soul from death.'¶ Regarding these words, hear my conjecture, in a few sentences, as the day is now waning, and my sermon hath been prolonged to a greater length, than I had intended, because I am unwillingly drawn from the sweet sound of his paternal name, and fearful of concluding, with silent tongue, on the subject of Malachy. My brethren, sin is the death of the soul, unless you have forgotten what you have read from the Prophet, 'The soul that sinneth, the same shall die.'** A three-

* Would these expressions indicate, that the present oration was pronounced, on the day of our Saint's departure? I do not think they are sufficiently conclusive to warrant such an inference.

† *Ecclesiasticus, XLV.* 4.

‡ 1. *John, V.* 4.

§ *Psalms, XC.* 7.

|| 11. *Corinthians, VI.* 7.

¶ *Psalms,* CXIV. 7, 8.

** *Ezechiel.* XVIII. 4.

fold congratulation awaits the man, who is freed from every sin, and from labour and danger. For, as a consequence, sin cannot be said to dwell in him, nor is the sorrow of repentence indicated, nor thenceforward need he be admonished by any lapse. Elias hath put aside his mantle; that it shall be touched or held by the adultress, there is no reason to fear * He hath ascended the chariot: there is no reason to apprehend his falling; sweetly he ascends, not labouring by his own motion, but sitting in the swift vehicle.† To this felicity, dearly beloved, let us run, with all the desire of our souls, in the odour of the ointments of this our holy Father, who, on to-day, seems to excite our torpor, to a most fervent devotion. Let us follow him, I say, frequently crying out to him, 'Draw us after thee,' giving devoted thanks to a bounteous Lord, with the affection of our hearts and the eloquence of our lips, because he hath willed the suffrages of another to be offered up in behalf of his unworthy servants, who are devoid of merits solely attributable to themselves."‡

A second discourse, on the virtues and merits of the holy Bishop Malachy, which had been delivered after the Saint's death, by the illustrious Abbot of Clairvaux, appears in the collected works of St. Bernard. It was probably delivered, on a different commemoration day of our Saint's departure, and it seems to have been addressed to the religious brethren or to the people, assembled at Clairvaux. The following is a version of this oration.

"It is certain, my dearly beloved brethren, that 'whilst we are in the body, we are absent from the Lord;'§ and, on this account, grief, rather than joy, indicates to us, our miserable exile, and the consciousness of our faults. However, because we are admonished, by the words of the Apostle, to 'rejoice with them that rejoice,'|| the time and the occasion require of us to abound in every joy. For, if what the Psalmist observes be true, that the just 'rejoice before God;'¶ doubtless, Malachy shall rejoice, who pleased the Lord in his day, and was found just. In sanctity and justice, the Saint ministered before him; his ministry was acceptable, and the minister was pleasing in the sight of God. And why should he not please? Without temporal gain he preached the Gospel, he filled his country with the tidings of the Gospel, he greatly subdued the cruel barbarism of his own Irish; he subjected extern nations to the light yolk of Christ, by the sword of the spirit, restoring his heirship to the Lord, even to the extremities of the earth. O fruitful ministry! O faithful minister! Through him

* The allusions of St. Bernard, in this sentence, are not very intelligible. Perhaps the wicked Jezebel, the persecutor of the Prophet Elias, is referred to by the words, "ab adultera;" and, by the words, "Posuit Elias pallium," may be understood, Elias covering his face with his mantle, after he had fled into the desert, to avoid her meditated vengeance. See, III. *Kings* XIX. 13. The intention of St. Bernard, appears to be, the establishment of some mystic sort of parity, between the Prophet Elias and St Malachy.

† See IV. *Kings*. II. 11, 12, 13.

‡ *Sancti Bernardi, in Transitu S. Malachiæ, Sermo. 1.* §§. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. *pp.* 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus III.*

§ *II. Corinthians* V. 6.

|| *Romans* XII. 15.

¶ *Psalm* LXVII. 4.

do we not find fulfilled the father's promise to his son? Hath not the father heretofore regarded him, when he addressed these words to his son, 'I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession?'* How willingly did not the Saviour receive what he had purchased, and purchased with the price of his blood, the ignomy of the cross, and the horrors of his passion? How willingly, from the hands of Malachy, was not an offering received, because he ministered gratuitously! Wherefore, in the minister, the gratuitous gift was graciously received, and the conversion of sinners was pleasing through his ministry. The singleness of his sight was agreeable and acceptable, in the minister, and the salvation of his people was procured, through his ministrations.

"Even, although a certain diminished efficacy of ministration followed, notwithstanding, he, to whom purity is pleasing and to whom humility is familiar, justly regarded Malachy and his works: for his justice consists in weighing the work by the intention, and in estimating the state of the whole body, from the quality of the eye. But now, the great works of the Lord were sought, in all the desires and studies of Malachy; they were many, and great, and exceedingly useful, although they were even more valuable, on account of their proceeding from a pure intention. What work of piety hath been omitted by Malachy? Being poor himself, he was bountiful to the poor. He was a father to the orphan, a husband to the widow, and a patron to the oppressed; a cheerful giver, an unfrequent petitioner, and a modest receiver. His great object was to establish peace, amongst those engaged in disputes, and his success was proportionately great. Who has been found, more pious in compassionating, more forward in assisting, more candid in reproving? For, he was filled with zeal, nor was prudence wanting, for the moderation of this zeal. He also showed himself yielding to the weak, although he was potent with the powerful; he resisted the proud, he chastised the tyrannical, he was the superior of kings and princes. He, it was, who by prayer deprived of sight an evil-minded king, and restored it again, on his repentance. He it was, who had frustrated the evil designs of those, who were about to violate a compact they had made, being delivered up to the spirit of error; in fine, he obliged them to observe a truce, they being confused and astonished, at what occurred to them. He it was also, who caused a river to interpose, so that in a miraculous manner, he overcame the efforts of those impious men, who were about to break the solemn truce entered into with those opposed to them. There were no showers, there was no rush of waters, nor gathering of clouds, nor melting of snows, when the insignificant stream suddenly swelled into a great river, which flowed onwards, and caused great inundations, effectually opposing the passage of those, who intended to violate their compact.

"What particulars have we not heard and known, regarding the zeal of this man, and the punishment of his enemies, although he was affectionate and meek, and filled with sympathy for all, who were in necessity? He was the sole parent of all his people, he lived for all;

* *Psalms* II. 8.

and, as the hen protects her chickens, thus did he cherish all, under the covering of his wings. He made no distinction between sex or age, between rank or person: having opened the bosom of charity to all, he excepted none. From whatever quarter tribulation cried out to him, he considered it a matter of personal regard: he was patient under his own misfortunes, solely, whilst he compassionated those of others, and, for the most part, felt uneasiness at their afflictions. For, he was sometimes filled with zeal, and he moved certain persons, in behalf of others, that he might relieve the needy, and repress the proud, thus consulting for the good of all classes. According to that of the Psalmist, 'Be ye angry, and sin not,' * he was also indignant, but did not commit sin through his indignation, for anger did not overcome him, his soul triumphing over it. He was master of himself. Being in truth the conqueror of himself, he could not be overcome by anger. His anger was under restraint. When called on, it came, issuing gradually, not bursting forth; by a gesture it was conveyed, and not by a torrent of passion. It burned not, but healed. Great diligence and much circumspection were manifested by him, in all motions of censure, for the regulating or restraining of any class of men. He did not otherwise regard all, than that he might be alone exposed to and alone exempted from general care. And, he was solicitous for his own: he guarded himself. Wherefore, he was so entirely devoted to his duty and to the interests of all, that charity, in no particular, seemed to prevent or retard him from the guardianship of himself, nor could selfishness wean him from the public service. If you had seen the man, surrounded by crowds, and implicated in business, you would have acknowledged, that he was born for his country, and not for himself. If you had seen the man alone, and dwelling in solitude, you would have thought, that he lived only for God and for himself.

"Without tumult, he associated with crowds; without relaxation, he passed the time devoted to recreation. How could he have been unemployed, when he exercised himself, in the justifications of the Lord? For, although, he had a time, not occupied by the necessities of his people, however, it was not unemployed, by sacred meditations; the desire of prayer and contemplation filled up every leisure moment. In the time of relaxation, his discourse was either of a serious character, or it was altogether unheard. His look was either of an earnest character, or of a meek and contemplative cast. For, the eye in his head never turned, unless it regarded virtue, and this is considered a matter of praise by the wise. His smile either indicated benevolence or excited thereto; however, it was rarely witnessed. Sometimes, indeed, it was excited, but never to excess; and, it announced cheerfulness of heart, in such a manner, that it lessened not the gracefulness of his countenance, but rather increased it. It was so full of modesty, that he could not be suspected of levity; and so slightly produced, that it tended to exhibit features, void of every shadow or cloud of sadness. O perfect gift! O fat holocaust! O agreeable obedience in thought and act! How excellent was the odour of thy prayers to

* *Psalms.* IV. 5.

God, during the period of inaction! how bountiful to men wert thou, when engaged in thy labours!

"Therefore, on account of these perfections, beloved by God and man, Malachy has been justly admitted, on this day, to the company of the Angels, having in reality obtained, what he was called by name. For, even before his death, he was not less an Angel by nomination, than through his purity; but now, the interpretation of a glorious name is more happily fulfilled in him, since he rejoices in equal glory and felicity with the Angels. Wherefore, my brethren, let us congratulate our father, let us congratulate him in a worthy manner; because, it is a pious duty to bewail Malachy, when dead, and still more so to rejoice with the living Malachy. For doth he not live? Yes, truly, and in a happy manner. Indeed, to the eyes of the foolish, he seemeth dead, but he is in peace. In fine, being now a fellow-citizen with the saints, and a domestic of God, he sings and gives thanks, saying, 'We have passed through fire and water, and thou hast brought us out into a refreshment.'* Truly he hath passed with courage, and hath happily passed through. He hath celebrated in spirit the true Hebrew Pasch, and whilst passing spoke to us, 'With desire I have desired to eat this Pasch with you.'† Through fire and water he hath passed, whom neither sadness could overcome, nor pleasure detain.‡ Let us rejoice, because our Angel hath ascended to his fellow-citizens, discharging his legation, in behalf of the children of captivity, conciliating in our favour the affections of the blessed, making known to them the desires of the wretched. Let us rejoice, I say, and exult, because that heavenly assembly hath received from amongst us, one who will be concerned on our account; one who hath protected us, by his merits, having instructed us by his examples, and confirmed us by his miracles.

"The holy Bishop, who in the spirit of humility hath often elevated the victim of peace towards heaven, hath entered this day, by himself, to the altar of God, being himself both priest and victim. The rite of the sacrifice hath been changed, into a better one, by the death of that priest; the fountain of tears is dried up, every holocaust is buried in joy and exultation. Blessed be the Lord God of Malachy, who hath visited his people, by the ministrations of such a pontiff, and who, having now assumed him into his holy city, hath not ceased to console our captivity, by the recollection of such sweetnsss. The spirit of Malachy exults in the Lord, because it is elevated from the pressure of a corporeal weight, being no longer oppressed by any foul or earthly material; whereby, passing every corporeal and incorporeal creature, with all alacrity and earnestness, it proceeds altogether to God, and clinging to the Divinity, it becomes with him one spirit for ever.

"Sanctity becometh this house, in which the memory of such sanctity is often renewed. O holy Malachy! preserve it in sanctity and justice, having compassion on us, who celebrate the memory of thy abound-

* *Psalms* LXV. 12.

† *Luke* XXII. 15.

‡ The preceding seven sentences are a repetition of a similar translation, in the former oration. The original Latin is identical, also, in the works of St. Bernard.

ing sweetness, amidst so many and such great miseries. A great dispensation of the Divine clemency rested on you, which hath made you little, in your own sight, and great, in that of the Lord: which through you hath wrought great things, in the salvation of your country, and which for you hath accomplished great things, by introducing you into glory! Thy festivity, which is justly celebrated in memory of thy merits, becomes efficacious towards our salvation, through thy virtues and prayers. The glory of thy sanctity, which is celebrated by us, is continued by the Angels; thus, will it be truly pleasing to us, if likewise it shall prove advantageous. On thy departure, be it allowed us, who assemble at so delightful a banquet, on your festival day, to retain some portion of those fruits, with which your loaded spirit ascends.

"We beseech thee, O holy Malachy, to be for us another Moyses or another Elias, thyself imparting to us something of thy holy spirit, since thou hast come in their spirit and virtue. Thy life is the law of life and discipline; thy death is the gate of death and the gate of life; thy memory is the sweetness of holiness and grace; and thy presence the crown of glory, in the hand of the Lord, thy God. O fruitful olive in the house of God! O oil of gladness, anointing and shining, cherishing with benefits, radiant with miracles! cause us to become the participants of his light and suavity, which thou enjoyest. O odouriferous lily, germinating, and flowering, and spreading, on every side, life-giving odour before the Lord, for ever; whose memory is in benediction, with us, whose presence is honoured in heaven! grant that we be not deprived of a participation of so great a fulness, whilst singing thy praises! O great luminary, and light shining in darkness, illuminating the prison and rejoicing the city, by its rays of miracles and of merits! drive away from our hearts the darkness of vice, by the splendour of thy virtues! O morning star! brighter than all other constellations, as being nearer to the day, and more resembling the sun! deign to precede us, that we also may walk in light, as being the children of light, and not the children of darkness! O aurora! bringing day to the world, and meridian light, traversing the higher regions of the air! receive us into the companionship of light, illuminated by which thou shinest far and wide, externally, and sweetly burnest, internally, our Lord Jesus Christ affording his grace, who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, reigns one God, world without end. Amen."*

Immediately after the death of St. Malachy, the holy Abbot of Clairvaux despatched a letter to the Brothers and religious communities, established in Ireland, by their apostolic founder, and this letter con-

* See *Sancti Bernardi, in Transitu S. Malachiæ. Sermo. II.* §§. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. *pp.* 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus III.*

An excellent critic and learned writer has remarked, that "St. Bernard's discourses on St. Malachy are ranked amongst the most methodical and eloquent of his writings. He seems to surpass himself when he speaks of this saint." See, Rev. *Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints. Vol. XI.*, at the 3rd of November, in giving the materials, whence he derived the Life of St. Malachy. So fully convinced have I been of the justice of these remarks, that I could not resist the temptation of placing them, before the reader, by rendering them into English, in which language, I believe they have now been, for the first time, published. They also serve to illustrate the character, and consequently, the biography of our glorious Saint.

tained the announcement of his death. He enjoins, in this epistle, the necessity of pious resignation to the will of God, since he had been pleased to remove his servant to a brighter and a better world. He assures them, that Malachy will intercede for them, before the throne of Divine Grace, as the fire of his charity cannot be extinguished in death. He laments the loss the Irish Church is about to experience, by his removal from life, in the midst of his usefulness. He beseeches them, to consider the place of his sepulture, as specially decreed by God; and since, during life, he had passed the greater portion of his days amongst them, it was only just that his bones should repose in Clairvaux, after his death. For the sake of their dear departed Father, he would claim them now as most beloved brethren. He exhorts them, in fine, to endeavour in all things, to follow the footsteps of the Saint, and in this manner would they exhibit themselves, as his true children.*

The following is a translation of this beautiful epistle, which, according to the Benedictine edition of St. Bernard's works, was written in the year 1148. It is thus addressed:—

"The consolation of the Paraclete to the religious brethren, living in Ireland, and especially, to the congregations founded by Bishop Malachy of happy memory, Brother Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux.

"1. If we had an abiding city here, we should have justly bewailed the loss of your great countryman, with floods of tears. But, if we look to the future, as we ought, we have yet no slight cause of grief, on being deprived of so necessary a guide; however, knowledge should moderate our feelings, and the confidence of hope should mitigate our grief. Nor should it prove a subject of wonder, if our affections call forth lamentation, or if desolation shows itself by tears; notwithstanding, we must set bounds to our excess, and even, we shall feel no slight degree of consolation, by reflecting on the things that are not seen, and disregarding those we behold. Those things which we see are temporal; those we see not are eternal. In the first place, we must render praises on account of the state of happiness, to which the Saint hath been called, lest he might accuse us of a want of charity, by addressing us as the Lord did the Apostles, "If you loved me, you would indeed be glad, because I go to the Father."† The spirit of our Father hath preceded us, to the Father of Spirits: and not only would we prove ourselves devoid of charity, but be guilty of ingratitude in return for all the benefits, he hath procured us, if we should not rejoice with him, who has escaped from labour to rest, from danger to security, and from the world to his heavenly Father. Wherefore, it is a pious indication to bewail Malachy when dead; and still more so, to congratulate with Malachy living. For doth he not live? Yes, truly, and in blessedness. To the eyes of the foolish, he is dead, but, however he is in peace.

"2. Hence, also, the consideration of our own acquired advantages should suggest joy and exultation to us; because, so powerful a patron

* *Sancti Bernardi Epistola CCCLXXIV.* §§ 1, 2, 3, 4. *pp.* 667, 678, 679. *Opera S. Bernardi Tomus II.*

† *John XIV.* 28.

and so faithful an advocate hath preceded his brethren to the heavenly court, whose most fervent charity will cause him to remember his children, and whose known sanctity shall obtain for us the grace of God. For, who shall now dare to suspect, that Malachy shall be less effectual, being a saint, or that he shall entertain a lesser love for his clients? Truly, although the Almighty at first loved him, now a more certain proof of this love is obtained from God; and when he loved his own, he loved them to the end. Far be it from us, O holy spirit, to suppose thy prayer less efficacious now, when, in his full presence, thou dost supplicate the divine Majesty; nor dost thou, at this moment, walk in faith, but thou dost reign in glory. Far be it from us to consider your abounding charity diminished, much less unemployed for us, when you prostrate yourself before the very fountain of Divine charity, drawing abundantly its copious draughts, when formerly you thirsted for its smallest drops. When death supervened, your strong charity could not be subdued, nay, rather, it became strengthened by death. And when, about to depart, he was not unmindful of you, affectionately commending you to God, and with his accustomed humility and meekness, he entreated me, an unworthy servant, that I should not forget you, after his death. Wherefore, I have judged it expedient to write to you, that you may know, we are prepared to offer every consolation to you, with the entire devotion of our heart, so far as our nothingness will allow, in all spiritual concerns; and, if perchance, an opportunity be afforded us, even in all temporal matters, through the potent merits of this our holy Father.

"3. And now, also, dearly beloved, we pity from our inmost soul, this grievous privation to the whole Irish Church; and, we the more compassionate you, because we have better known you, to have been his debtors. The Lord hath magnified us, when deigning to honor our place, by the accident of his holy death, and hath enriched us, by the precious treasure of his body. Nor grieve, that his burial had not taken place amongst yourselves; since, the Lord, according to the multitude of his mercies, hath ordained, that you should enjoy his living presence, be it allowed us, to possess his remains. And, indeed, he was both your and our common Father, for even at his death, such agreement had he entered into, with us. Wherefore, as the grace of this so great a Father hath made all of you our inseparable brethren, we embrace you, with all the bowels of charity, and the same spiritual kindred should persuade you to reciprocate our feelings.

"4. But, we exhort you, brethren, that you always have a care to walk in the footsteps of this our holy Father, and the more studiously, as you have more diligently known by his daily example the manner of his holy conversation. In this you will prove yourselves his true children, if you sedulously observe his paternal institutes; and, as you have seen in him, and heard from him, how you should walk, thus walk, that you may the more abound, for the glory of the Father consists in the wisdom of his children. For the example of such perfection, when present with us, caused us, in no slight degree, to abandon sloth and practice devotion. And, I wish that he would thus draw us after himself, that he may lead us more eagerly and hastily advancing, through

that recent odour of his virtues. Asking your united prayers for us, may Christ preserve all of you."*

CHAPTER XVII.

Manners and Character of St. Malachy.—His Canonization.—An account of the various writings, attributed to him.

Sr. Malachy O'Morgair departed this life, on the 2nd day of November, 1148,† in the fifty-fourth year of his age. For five years, he ruled over the united dioceses of Down and Connor; he was then called to the Primatial See of Armagh, which he governed eight years, being disturbed by the intruder Nigellus, until the death of the latter took place. After his retirement from Armagh, the See of Down, separated from that of Connor, was under his pastoral guidance, for the remaining eleven years of his life. During the space of eight years, immediately preceding his death, he discharged the Legative functions of Apostolic Nuncio for the Holy See, throughout the kingdom of Ireland. In the exercise of these and many other functions, abundant opportunities are afforded us, for an insight into the character and motives of a Prelate, that wrought such an extensive reformation, in the morals of the people, and in the abuses connected with churches, under his immediate charge. In all his thoughts and actions, we shall find him truly animated, by the spirit of God, and by a desire to establish His kingdom upon earth.‡

* This Epistle is numbered LV. in Ussher's *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, when it is found published. See, *pp.* 106 to 108. In the Benedictine edition of St. Bernard's Works, it is numbered as the CCCLXXIV. of his Epistles.

† Although St. Bernard is particular, in relating the exact year of our Saint's death; yet, many writers appear to have departed from the date he gives, in recording the death of St. Malachy. According to Hanmer, "*Antonine* saith hee dyed, Anno 1140." *Chronicle of Ireland. p.* 209. In *Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p.* 434, his death is placed, under the year 1150. In *Dermod O'Connor's Keating's History of Ireland, Vol. II. p.* 193, it is incorrectly stated, that the death of St. Malachy took place, about the time of King Cormac MacCarthy's murder, in 1138. Keating may have been deceived, by the date of our Saint's retirement, from the see of Armagh, which took place 1137, and which, from a hasty reading of the old annalists, he concluded, must naturally suppose the Archbishop's death.

‡ In *Dr. O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, Vol. II.*, where the death of our Saint is referred to, at A.D. 1148, we find the following exalted tribute paid to his character and labours: "Malachias, i.e. Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair, Archbishop of the Chair of Patrick, chief head of the west of Europe, legate of the successor of Peter, the only head whom the Irish and the foreigners obeyed, chief paragon of wisdom and piety, a brilliant lamp which illumined territories and churches by preaching and good works, faithful shepherd of the church in general,—after having ordained bishops and priests, and persons of every degree; after having consecrated many churches and cemeteries; after having performed every ecclesiastical work throughout Ireland; after having bestowed jewels and food upon the mighty and the needy; after having founded churches and monasteries (for by him were repaired in Ireland every church which had been consigned to decay and neglect, and they had been neglected from time remote,) after leaving every good rule and every good moral in the churches of Ireland in general; after having been the second

The exterior appearance of Malachy was such, as to impress, on beholders, a feeling of reverence and affection towards him. In look, appearance, habit and gesture, a grave and thoughtful expression seemed predominant; but, although grave and composed, in demeanour, he always appeared cheerful and unreserved. Levity, however, was as absent from his cheerfulness, as austerity was removed from his seriousness of manner. Sometimes with his friends and particular acquaintances, he would indulge in playful relaxation, without departing from his usual dignified character. He was always occupied, by some thought, which he projected for the glory of God, and for the interests of religion; and, although he did not seem to press his designs with impetuous zeal, he contrived, in a quiet manner, to make several objects tend to the advancement of his purpose. He oftentimes kept his projects concealed, even from his most intimate friends, until all things were rightly matured for their announcement. His modesty of deportment and unaffected manner rendered his every action edifying, and removed those impediments to familiar approach and confidence, which oftentimes prevent those in authority from understanding the nature of things, with the direction of which they are charged, or the wants, which they are often called upon to supply. His discourse always turned upon heavenly things; and, although, he was sometimes obliged to indulge in conversation of a less serious kind, a single word never escaped his lips, that could give offence to the most religious person. Interiourly, the purity of his soul cast a radient light and beauty, over the deportment of this angelic man; and, his known fortitude and courage, when the honor of God or the interest of Religion was at stake, gave him a superiority of character, that triumphed over the malice of the enemies of the Church, and obtained for him those triumphs, during the splendid career of his Apostleship, which rendered him the subject of universal respect and admiring reverence.*

He often passed whole hours, in prayer and heavenly contemplation; and, yet, he was indefatigable, in the active exercises of his ministry. He preached the word of God in season and out of season; he was

time in the legateship; after having been fourteen years in the primacy; and after the fifty-fourth year of his age, resigned his spirit to heaven on the second day of November; and the Church celebrates the feast and solemnity of St. Malachias on the third day, it having been changed by the seniors from the feast day of All Souls to the day after, in order that he might be the more easily revered and honoured; and he was buried in the monastery of St. Bernard at Clarvallis, in France, with honour and veneration." pp. 1084, 1085. Colgan, who has translated the foregoing passage, into Latin, from the original Irish, has appended to it the following remarks: "Hæc quatuor Magistri in Annalibus, quibus quoad annum, diem et locum mortis et sepulturæ consentit Divus Bernardus in ejus vita cap. penultimo et ultimo: quoad reliqua vero per totam illam; nisi quod nec ipse innuat ipsum anno 14 sui primatus decessisse (ut illi Annales tradunt): cum solum tribus annis in possessione pacifica rexerit Metropolim Ardmachanum, nempe ab ann. 1133, usque ad 1136, quo resignavit ille muneri, illudque transtulit in humeros B. Gelasii; sed illi solum videntur, uti solum poterant intelligere quod anno decimo quarto a suscepto munere Primatis, nisi et verius decimo quinto obierit cum anno 1134, illud susceperit, et anno 1148 decesserit." *Trias Thaumaturga p.* 305.

* *Sancti Bernardi Vita S. Malachiæ. Cap. XIX.* § 43. *p.* 1497. *Opera S. Bernardi. Tomus II.*

mild with the weak and erring; he was patient under trials and persecutions; he was severe towards obstinate and haughty transgressors; he won over, by entreaty, argument, and persuasion, the most abandoned sinners, and brought them to the practice of a holy and virtuous life. Travelling oftentimes on foot, he performed his different ministrations, in such a manner, as to charm all, by his mildness, patience and charity, and by the continued and laborious exertions of mind and body, to which of choice he subjected himself. Whilst placing himself under many restraints and privations, he was remarkably indulgent and kind to those, under his care and direction.

A Bull* of Pope Clement III. addressed to the general chapter of the Cistercians, in the third year of his pontificate, contains the announcement of the virtues, and of the canonization of St. Malachy. Although, the day of his rest was on the 2nd of November, yet, for

* Given at Lateran, on the 6th day of July, 1190. Vide, *Bullarium Romanum, Vol. III. p.* 42. *sec. XIV.* The following is the text of this Bull, as I find it occurring, after the Life of our Saint, in an edition of the works of St. Bernard; and it is said to have been published, from a Cistercian MS.: "BULLA CANONIZATIONIS B. MALACHIÆ. *Clemens Episcopus, servus servorum Dei: dilectis filiis universis Abbatibus ad Cisterciense Capitulum convenientibus Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.* Ideo sacro-sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam Redemptor noster caput omnium Fidelium esse voluit et magistram, ut ad ejus dispositionem et nutum, divina gratia præeunte, qua ubique a Fidelibus gerenda sunt ordinentur, et errata in melius corrigantur, et ad ejus consilium in ambiguis recurratur; et quod ipsa statuerit, nemini, quantumcumque de suis meritis glorietur, liceat immutare: ne, si forte promiscua daretur universis licentia quæcumque sibi secundum voluntatem propriam occurrerit perpetrandi, confusa libertas, cum secundum voluntatem personarum vota dissentiant, in aliorum aliquando scandalum sine justi discretione libraminis commendanda supprimeret, et minus digna laudibus indebitis celebrarete Inde si quid fuit quod dilectus filius noster Jord. sanctæ Prudentianæ tituli Pastoris Presbyter Cardinalis, ad preces quorumdam vestrum, vitam sancti cujusdam virie nomine Malachiæ, qui apud Claram-vallem in Domino requiescit, a B. Bernardo primo Claræ-vallensi Abbate conscriptam, et miracula quæ Dominus ob ipsius merita declaranda per ipsum dignatus est operari, cum multorum vestri ordinis testimoniis nobis devote præsentare curavit, ut auctoritate Apostolica quod de ipsius meritis sentire deberet Ecclesia publice deberemus omnibus declarare. Visis ergo tantorum virorum testimoniis, vita etiam ipsius et miraculis diligenter inspectis, precibus etiam et testimonio ipsius Cardinalis, et dilecti filii Abbatis Casçmarii, aliorumque quamplurium, quibus fidem omnimodam adhibendam credebamus, inducti, dictum sanctum virum Malachiam in Sanctorum Catalogo de communi Fratrum nostrorum consilio duximus ascribendum, et per ipsius merita Redemptoris suffragia cum reliquorum Sanctorum interventionibus a Christi Fidelibus statuimus postulanda. Volumus igitur ut eam sibi reverentiam, quæ Sanctis debetur, universus Ordo vester et alii Fideles, de licentia Sedis Apostolicæ, devote exhibeant, et in sanctorum numero secure conscribant. Datum Lateran. 11. Non. Julii, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio." *Opera Sancti Bernardi, Volumen Primum. Tomus II. pp.* 697, 698. *Ed. Venitiis,* 1750 *fol.* "Mabillon says, *Chronologia Bernardina, col. X.*, towards the end of the 1st *Vol.* of St. Bernard's works, that the canonization of St. Malachy is marked at *A.* 1192, in the Chronicle of Clairvaux, *ap.* Fr. Chifflet. It will be objected, that this cannot agree with its having been in the third year of Clement III. who died in 1191, and whose third year of pontifical rule was 1190. But, although the bull may be fairly supposed to have been issued, in 1190, it might not have been acted upon, by the Cistercian Order, until 1192, after due notice had be engiven of its issue, and when matters had been arranged, for the solemnization of St. Malachy's festival." *Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. IV. Chap. XXVII.* § *XII. n.* 74. *p.* 135.

the more convenient and solemn celebration of his feast, it was transferred to the following day.* His memory is held in venera-

* The commemoration of our Saint occurs, in the Roman Martyrology, at the 3rd of November, *(Tertio Nonas Novembris)*, in the following terms: "In monasterio Clarævallensi depositio Sancti Malachiæ Episcopi Connerthensis in Hibernia, qui multis virtutibus suo tempore claruit: cujus vitam Sanctus Bernardus abbas conscripsit." And, in a note to this passage, we read: "Scripsit ejus vitæ Acta S. Bernardus, qui eumdem viventem, ac postea defunctum mirifice coluit. Extant ejusdem ad eumdem *Epist.* 315, 316, & 317. & *sermo in ejusdem festivitate*. Excessit e vita (ut idem testatur) anno Domini millessimo centessimo quadragesimo octavo, quarto Nonas Novembris: ob commemorationem autem defunctorum translata est ejus celebritas in hanc diem, quo solemnius agi posset." *Martyrologium Romanum Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. jussu editum, & Urbani VIII. auctoritate recognitum: auctore Cæsare Baronio Sorano. S.R.E. Tit. SS. Nerei & Achillei Cardinali & Bibliothecario Apostolico.* *p.* 681, and *note* (f.) *p.* 182. *Editio Moguntiæ* 1631. *4to.* Such is the reason, assigned by Cardinal Baronius, for the transference of our Saint's festival, to the following day, November the Third. According to Andrew Saussay, in his Gallican Martyrology, and Christopher Henriques, in his Cistercian Martyrology, *p.* 146, the feast of our Saint is referred to the 5th of November. One of the epitaphs composed on our Saint, is thus given, in the following Latin verses:

Scire cupis quisnam jacet hic? Dominus Malachias.
Hæres quis fuerit? Quærere pergis adhuc?
Hibernus patria, meritorum munere Sanctus,
Celsus prodigiis, Præsul honore fuit.
Accumulavit onus summæ legatio sedis,
Romam ibat, sed ab hinc capit ad astra sedem.
Hac in valle sita domus est sibi petra polita,
In qua sacrata tua sunt, Pater, ossa locata.
O Pater digne, dulcis, sacer, atque benigne,
Oro, tui Memoris ut sis memor omnibus horis.

Thus translated into English, by Harris, in the following doggerel verses:

Would'st thou fain know who here doth lye?
It is the Bishop *Malachy.*
But who he was you are in Doubt,
And yet go on to find it out.
By Birth he was an *Irishman,*
A Saint, his Merits if you scan,
In Miracles he was full high,
A Prelate eke in Dignity.
The Bounty of the Papal Seat
On him did heap a goodly Weight.
To *Rome* he went; but by the by,
From hence he travel'd to the Sky.
In this fair Vale not yet demolished,
Stands his long home of Marble polished.
Where, beneath an Heap of Stones,
O Father, lie thy reverend Bones.
O worthy Saint, most sweet and kind, I pray,
As I do you, remember me for aye.

To the words, "From hence," at the commencement of the twelfth line, Harris has appended the following comment: "From hence, i. e. from Clarevalle, where he died, and was buried." See, *Harris' Ware. Vol. I. Archbishops of Armagh*, *p.* 56.

The foregoing verses are divided in M. Guignard's *Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Academie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux. (Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV. col.* 1671, 1672.) The first six lines are separated from the four last. M. Guignard asks the question, if these verses were engraved, on the tomb of St. Malachy? and then observes, that it

tion by the Church, in Ireland; and, especially in the northern Province, at the present time, he is justly considered, as one of the most distinguished of the Saints of his country.

This venerable Prelate is also numbered, amongst the writers of Ireland. That he wrote a letter to St. Bernard is certain, on account of the acknowledgment of its reception, by the abbot of Clairvaux; and it is more than probable, he wrote several other letters, besides this one, to his dear friend and correspondent. It is probable, that he wrote letters to various other persons, although none of them are now known to be extant. Besides the Epistles written to St. Bernard, the following works are also attributed to him: 1. *Constitutionum Communium.* Lib. I. II. *De Legibus Cœlibatus;* Lib. I. III. *De Traditionibus.* IV. *Vita S. Cuthberti*, which is said to have been dedicated to David, King of Scotland. V. *De Peccatis et Remediis.* Lib. I. VI. *Conciones plures.* Lib. I.* VII. *Prophetia de futuris Pontificibus Romanis.*† But there is not sufficient evidence to prove, that he wrote all these works. It is certain, moreover, that the last named tract was the forgery of a period long subsequent to the age in which our Saint flourished. It was first published by Arnold Wion,‡ with an

would be almost impossible to pronounce an exact opinion on this point, as the details preserved relative to his tomb are so few. Without a design, preserved by the Bollandists, it would be very difficult to-day, to form an idea of the tomb of St. Bernard, although, referring to the latter, a great number of documents are extant. But, as regards St. Malachy's tomb, we are left without these double advantages; and, therefore, a few unsatisfactory notices or inferences can only help us, to form a sort of negative idea. In the year 1599, Don Bernardo Cardilio Villalpando, a Spanish Cistercian, was sent to France, by the Abbé de Hitero, in Navarre, for the purpose of visiting all the houses of the order, and of collecting curious particulars regarding them. This religious collected his notes, at a somewhat later period, and from them composed an Itinerary, which is supposed to be as yet inedited. (See, Nicholao Antonio, *Biblioth. Hispan. nova.*—Ch. de Wisch, *Biblioth. script. O.C.*) Manrique was the cotemporary of Villalpando, and frequently cites him. From the descriptions, given by the former, it would seem that the latter had entered into many details; but, M. Guignard is of opinion, that Villalpando had not particularly described the tomb of St. Malachy, as Manrique does not quote his testimony, on this subject, nor, is it likely, he would have failed to have alluded thereto, if he had authority for so doing, from previous statements.

At *Nonis Novembris,* (November 5th) Andrew Du Saussay says: "Apud Claramvallem transitus Sancti Malachiæ Archiepiscopi Armachani in Hibernia & Confessoris . . . . . Quem idem S. Bernardus dum in ejus exequiis tremendum sacrificium immolaret, superno irradiatus lumine susceptum in gloria suspexit: unde et collectam defunctorum in litationis sacratissimæ fine pretermittens: illam orationem intulit, quæ non ad commendationes defunctorum, sed ad celebritates spectat beatorum Pontificum. At vero non hac die ad beatas sedes migravit S. Malachias, sed ipso die commemmorationis omnium defunctorum. At hodie, in ipsa Claraualle, depositionis eius de more festivitas celebratur." *Martyrologium Gallicanum. pp.* 832, 833. *Editio Lutetiæ Parisiorum.* 1637. *fol.* In Rev. Dr. Kelly's valuable and interesting compilation, entitled, the *Calendar of Irish Saints, the Martyrology of Tallagh, &c. p.* 112, it is observed, that the festival of St. Malachy is kept on the 4th of November—but this is, doubtless a typographical error—for in a previous notice, in the same work, extracted from the Martyrology of Donegall, we find, "Nov. 3, Malachias, i.e. Maolmaodhog Ua Morgair." See *p.* 35.

* The two treatises, *De Peccatis et Remediis, Lib. I.* and *Conciones Plures. Lib. I.* are attributed to our Saint, by Stanihurst. *Descriptio Hiberniæ. Cap. VII.*

† See, *Harris' Ware. Vol. II. Writers of Ireland. Book I. Chap. IX. p.* 69.

‡ See, *Arnold Wion's Lignum Vitæ. Pars I. Lib. II. cap. XL. pp.* 307 to 311.

exposition of the prophecy annexed, attributed by Wion to Alphonsus Ciaconius, who, it is said, brings down its interpretation to the papacy of Urban VII., who died on the 27th of September, 1590, thirteen days after his election as Pope. But, although Ciaconius has written the Lives of the Popes and Cardinals, and although several editions of his work have been published, he does not allude to these Prophecies.* This circumstance furnishes a proof, that if Ciaconius had a knowledge of them, he appears to have suspected their authenticity, as he did not mention them, in his published works. Again, it has been remarked, that Nicholas Antonio, who published a *Bibliotheque* of the Spanish writers, and Ambrose ab Altamurra, who composed a Catalogue of the Writers of the Dominican Order, to which Ciaconius belonged, do not give any account of these Prophecies, or of Ciaconius being the interpreter of them. Yet, these writers are accurate, not only in giving the published, but even the small unpublished works and MSS. of Ciaconius. St. Bernard, who wrote the life of our Saint, although he alludes to the prophetic spirit of St. Malachy, does not, in the least particular, intimate, that his friend left behind him any work on the subject of Prophecy. Yet, if he had written such a work, the circumstance must have been known to St. Bernard, or to some of the Irish ecclesiastics, who procured materials for the Biography of Malachy. Nor did any other contemporary Irish or foreign writer speak of them; although, it is well known, our native writers have written of innumerable Miracles, Visions and Prophecies, which are attributed to our national saints. Neither is there any allusion to these Prophecies of St. Malachy, by our annalists. Thus, they must have been unknown and unnoticed for near 450 years; and they appear to have been fabricated, only a short time, before they were published by Wion, from whose work they were copied by Messinghaun,

(*Editio Venetiis*, 1595, *4to.*) In his remarks, prefixed to this Prophecy, Wion observes of our Saint: "Scripsisse fertur & ipse nonnulla opuscula, de quibus nihil hactenus vidi, præter quandam prophetiam de summis Pontificibus, quæ quia brevis est, & nondum quod sciam excusa, & a multis desiderata, hic a me appositus est." At the close of the Prophecy, he remarks: "Quæ ad Pontifices adjecta, non sunt ipsius Malachiæ, sed R.P.F. Alphonsi Giaconis, ord. Prædicatorum, hujus Prophetiæ interpretis."

* "Many learned Men have rejected these Prophecies as spurious; and several have affirmed, with good Reason, that they were forged by some Partizan or Familiar of Cardinal *Simoncelli*, to promote his Interest in the Conclave *Anno* 1590; he being then the oldest Cardinal, and one who had assisted in the Election of several Popes. The scheme of these Prophecies is founded on the different Designations of the Popes, either from their Names, Country, Family, Office, Titles of their Cardinalate, or Arms, or from several of these united. Thus, *De Rore Cæli*, is the Prophecy applied to Pope *Urban* the VIIth, who had been Archbishop of *Rossano* in *Calabria*, where Manna, called the Dew of Heaven, is gathered. Cardinal *Simoncelli* was born at *Urbevetanum (Orvieto)* i.e. the old City, and was Bishop of it; and therefore this vain Prophet pointed out his Patron under these words: *Ex antiquitate Urbis*, in order to persuade the Electors, that the Holy Ghost, by such a Designation, had given his Suffrage for him, being both Bishop of *Urbevetanum*, and a Native of it. But here the Prophecy failed, and the Cardinal of *Milan*, who took the Title of *Gregory* the XIVth was elected. From the Time of *Urban* the VIIth, the Expositors of these Prophecies have been silent." *Harris' Ware: Vol. II. Writers of Ireland. Book I. Chap. IX. pp.* 69, 70.

and inserted by him after the death of St. Malachy.* Another very pregnant objection to their authenticity is started, by Sir James Ware, which must have its due weight with Catholics; *viz.* that there are no less than eight *Anti-popes*, intermixed with the lawful *Popes*, and mentioned in the interpretations, affixed to these prophecies.† Hence, it should naturally be concluded, that if such interpretations were applicable to the persons, to whom they are applied, they would represent the Holy Spirit pronouncing these *Anti-popes*, as lawful successors of the Apostle St. Peter, contrary to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, which cannot admit of two contemporaneous and supreme heads of the Church of Christ. This argument should be alone conclusive, in establishing the spurious nature of those Prophecies. Besides, the foregoing reasons, there are many anachronisms in these pretended predictions, which are supposed to have been occasioned, by the forger of them, adhering too closely, to the erroneous accounts of Onuphrius Panvinius. Yet, in a collection of Irish Prophecies, I find an attempt made to establish their authenticity, by an endeavour to invalidate the force of the foregoing objections.‡ But, even, if these objections were not urged, we should still require positive proofs of their genuineness, which would enable us to refer them, not only to the age, but even to the authorship, of St. Malachy O'Morgair; and, it is needless to add, such proofs are not sought to be adduced. The Jesuit Monestier has written a treatise, in French, to expose their want of authenticity; and this treatise has been translated, into Latin, by an Irish Franciscan Friar, Francis Porter.§ To either of these treatises, the reader is referred for further information, on this subject.‖ The Rev. Pere Michel Gorgen, O.C.C., of the monastery of our Lady of Mount Carmel, at Dieppe, published an interpretation of these reputed Prophecies, in 1659, which brings their explication down to Pope Alexander VII., who died, in the year 1667.¶

In addition to the foregoing works, an Irish Poem, attributed to our Saint, is said to have been composed by him, of which a translation, into English, is here presented, together with the original. Both were kindly furnished by Professor Eugene Curry.

Maelmaedoc ua Morgair, cecinit.

Cetna laithe tainaich,
Anma derbaig a cru;
Do Ierusalem omeda,
Ar ni fordamain Iru.

* See, *Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum, p.* 376.

† These eight Anti-popes are, Victor IV. (A.D. 1159) Paschal III. (A.D. 1169). Calixtus III. (A.D. 1169). Nicholas V. (A.D. 1328). Clement VII. (A.D. 1378). Benedict XIII. (A.D. 1394). Clement VIII. (A. D. 1424). Félix V. (A.D. 1439).

‡ See, *Nicholas O'Kearney's Prophecies of Columbkille, &c. pp.* 132 to 163.

§ This work of Porter is entitled: "Opusculum contra vulgares quasdam Prophetias de Electionibus S. Pontificum, S. Malachiæ falso attributas; Gallice primum editum, nunc in Latinum Idioma translatum." Romæ, 1698, octavo. See, *Brenan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. II. XXVIII. Century. chap. III. p.* 339.

‖ *Harris' Ware. Vol. II. Writers of Ireland. Book I. Chap. IX. p.* 70.

¶ The aforesaid interpretation will be found rendered into English, in *O'Kearney's Prophecies of Columbkille, &c. pp.* 140 to 160.

Alaithe do corcetan,
Ainem an nondaib caicher,
Do ruth alaind Iordanen,
Ainm i tachenithid tria baicher.

Tnerr laithe neim nanaibe,
Ceca hainma cen melachc,
Conacutan rommige,
Nannéair Adam do nenachc.

Cethramad fecht foirb,
Aneim ni céim hi cia,
Dochumm ina nigflatha
Rennentai aingil im Dia.

Coiced laithe ianruidiu
Rigid, ni rid-la flemnu,
Irenn aduan aigéige,
Ait hi planaiten demnai.

Seirrud laithe rolurta
Ba fenn ba céim cen méla,
Dochum a chumr donirt,
Cid olcc cid maith do géna.

Sechtmud laithe lanruide,
Ber ir céim fria noi chatha,
Irred laithe tidnaicthen,
Dochum irinn no flatha.

Ba fenn do cech cuirtaige,
Ciano therrud la monun,
Co caiead fo thromdenaib,
Cétla tectai don domun.

Moelmoedoc mac Dammata,
Dáiler in ruithe récach,
Cuno righeg nian da ca,
Ire no chan in céual.

Cétna laithe.

The following is the English translation:—

The first day of the journey
Of a soul to pay its tribute
Is to illustrious Jesusalem,
The place wherein Jesus suffered.

The second day, as it is bound,
Its progress in order speeds
To the beautiful River Jordan
Wherein he was regenerated through baptism.

The third day, a happy progress,
Of every soul without fail,
To see the great happiness
Of Adam's Paradise it goes.

The fourth refreshing journey,
Its progress is not a step into darkness,
Into the royal kingdom
Where angels reign with God.

The fifth day in due course,
She goes—it is not a peaceful smooth day,
To frigid, scorching hell,
The place in which the demons are tormented.

The sixth resplendent day,—
It were better it was not a journey of regret,
Unto its body again,
Be it evil or good it produceth.

The seventh day in fulness then,
Certain it is an advance to a great battle,—
This is the day on which it is conducted
To hell or to heaven.

It were better for every Christian,
That he forthwith go to work ;
That he lament in heavy tears
The first day he came into the world.

Maelmaedoc, son of Diarmait, it is,
That distributes this exalted knowledge,
May he reach the path which he seeks ;
It is he that sings the poem.*

The foregoing treatises and fragments comprise all the literary remains, attributed to our Saint. But, whilst one of these compositions, as already observed, is known to be spurious, there is reason to doubt, that others are more genuine, when ascribed to the authorship of Malachy O'Morgair. Until copies of the works in question be discovered—provided they are extant—the cautious and judicious critic will be obliged to restrict his opinion, regarding their authenticity.

* In a note, subjoined to the foregoing courteous communication, the learned contributor adds:

"After the closest search among all my sources of information, this is all that I "have been able to discover of anything by, or of, St. Mealmædoc Ua Mongair, "or Morgair."

April, 1858. EUGENE O'CURRY.

The foregoing Irish Hymn is to be found filling up the blank space of a fol., and inserted at the end of the month of May, in the Martyrology of Ængus, but having no reference to the matter of the Martyrology. It was copied by Professor O'Curry, from the Great Book of Dun Doighee, now called the Leabhar Breac, *(p. 34 b.)* a MS. belonging to the Royal Irish Academy.

Whilst it was supposed necessary, by the present writer of the Saint's Life, that the titles of these several works and the statements of various authors regarding them should be published, in order to render this biography more complete; the intelligent reader will readily understand, that no greater amount of credence is claimed for such opinions, than the individual authority of the several writers, by whom they have been advanced. It will be seen, by referring to the previous notes of the present chapter, that all of these writers, quoted as authorities for their several statements, flourished at a period long subsequent to the death of St. Malachy O'Morgair. As we do not find, in those particular passages of their works, satisfactory references to previous reliable accounts or traditions, tracing their course backwards to the twelfth century, by an unbroken chain of historical evidence; these statements must be considered, as mere gratuitous assertions, undeserving the slightest degree of attention, at least, until corroborated by the production of further reliable and extrinsic testimony.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Interesting account of the Relics of St. Malachy, by M. Guignard.—First deposition of our Saint's body, at Clairvaux.—Subsequent entombment.—Epitaphs composed on St. Malachy.—Translation of the Saint's remains, at Clairvaux, in 1191. Portions of his relics brought to Ireland, in 1194, and distributed amongst the various Abbeys of the Cistercian Order.—In the Thirteenth Century, Robert Bruce assigns certain lands, with their appurtenances, to maintain a light before the altar of St. Malachy, in the Abbey of Clairvaux.—Text and description of this foundation Charter.

The relics of St Malachy, together with those of St. Bernard, have always been preserved with the greatest possible veneration, in the place, where those holy men departed this life. A very interesting account of these relics has been given, by Ph. Guignard, correspondent of the Minister of public instruction, in France, Keeper of the Archives of the Department of L'Aube, and Librarian of the city of Dijon.* This account was first presented to the public, in the years 1845 and 1846, in a series of letters, addressed to M. Le Comte de Montalembert of the French Academy. It was published in *l'Auxiliaire Catholique*,† and afterwards re-produced, in an improved form, in the *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, edited by the Abbé Migne.‡ This latter is the version I have consulted, and of which I have chiefly availed myself, in rela-

* "M. Guignard, dans une série de lettres sur les reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, a prouvé que l'emploi des vrais procédés de la critique pouvait donner du prix a des recherches dont le but n'excite pas un intérêt universel. Une mention très-honorable doit devenir la récompense des efforts de l'érudit auquel est confiée la direction des Archives de l'Aube." Extrait du *Rapport fait a l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, au nom de la commission des antiquités de la France, par M. Lenormant, à la séance publique annuelle du* 21 *août*, 1846.

† *Tome II. pp.* 82, 216, and *Tome III. pp.* 33, 427.

‡ *Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi, Vol. IV. pp.* 1661 to 1798.

ting the following particulars.* I must, however, observe, that I have omitted those details, which specially relate to the relics of St. Bernard, except when they serve incidentally, to illustrate the accounts given, regarding those of St. Malachy. In the Abbé Migne's edition of M. Guignard's Letter, we are told, that the author carefully revised his first version, by commencing anew the examination of those documents, he had at first used, whilst profiting, also, by investigations instituted during his subsequent researches.† I shall therefore, endeavour to arrange those details, which are furnished by M. Guignard, whilst extracting from his text and learned comments, to illustrate more fully and satisfactorily the account of our Saint's memorials and relics, lost through the lapse of time, or yet remaining. They cannot fail to interest the antiquarian, the artist, and the Christian, of every age, country and creed: the antiquary, because they illustrate periods long passed and practices of a remote age; the artist, because revealing the progress of art during the lapse of time; and the Christian of every denomination, because the study of religious and social phases of the human intellect, during the middle and succeeding ages, must have a tendency to remove misconception and misrepresentation. The memory of all good men should be treasured in the recollections of the whole human race, and at all periods of time; whilst the true Christian patriot must specially feel gratified, when remembering, that our Island can present a glorious array of heroic and sanctified servants of Christ. An illus-

* It cannot be out of place, to record my grateful acknowledgments to the Rev. James O'Laverty, Dean of St. Malachy's Diocesan Seminary, Belfast, who first drew my attention to M. Guignard's *Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Académie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux.* But, on learning that none of our large public libraries in Dublin contained the *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus,* in which it was to be found, this Rev. gentleman, in the kindest possible manner, and as unsolicited as unexpected, forwarded the volume in which this letter had been published from Belfast, to the writer's address. Such attentions as these are only simply noticed, to show how they are duly appreciated.

† M. Guignard acknowledges his obligations to Monseigneur Parisis, bishop of Langres, who permitted him to consult two valuable MSS., which, in 1845, were in the keeping of M. Gossin, *former* Councillor of the Court Royal, who then resided at Paris. These were the IX. and XV. tomes of a voluminous collection made by the Abbé Matthieu, on the history of the whole diocese, which had become the property of the see of Langres. The IX. MS. volume contained a copy of fragments of a *Catalogue succinct des Abbés de Clairvaux,* and fragments of an *Histoire de Clairvaux,* by Dom. André Le Boullenger, the last archivist of that Abbey. According to M. Matthieu, this History was approved the 24th of April, 1738. But this date is evidently incorrect: for Dom. André Le Boullenger was sixty-six years of age, in 1790; *(Inventaire de Clairvaux,* 24 mai 1790; *Arch. de l'Aube;)* consequently, it is not probable, that he had thought of writing the History of Clairvaux, in 1738. M. Guignard thinks, that 1788 should be the insertion; but, all his researches at the Imperial Library to clear up this point were not attended with a favourable result. In 1773, Dom. André Le Boullenger was Librarian and Archivist of Clairvaux; in 1790, he was, moreover, the Sacristain of the Abbey. In the year III. of the French Republic, he resided at Nogent, as recorded in the *Inventaire de mobilier national du district de Nogent—sur Seine. (Arch. de l'Aube.)* The XV. MS. tome is an entire copy of two volumes, in folio, of notes extracted from the Archives of Clairvaux, by Dom. Claude Guyton, about the year 1744. (*MS. p.* 526.) In 1751, Dom. Claude Guyton was keeper of the charters and deeds of the Abbey of Clairvaux. *(Arch. de l'Aube.)*

trious Irish prelate, whose motives and character were irreproachable and full of integrity, in all those efforts he made to stem the torrent of immorality and irreligion, has passed before the view, in preceding chapters; it should therefore interest us to trace the progress of events and memorials, in connection with his name and memory on earth, when his spirit had been summoned away to the mansions of everlasting bliss.

After the body of St. Malachy had been washed and borne to the church, which had not yet been finished, it was placed in a small cell, that had been prepared for its reception.* Before the interment of our Saint, the Abbot of Clairvaux removed the tunic which covered him, and afterwards religiously preserved it, as St. Athanasius had formerly done, with regard to the mantle of St. Anthony. But, the holy Abbot substituted his own tunic or chasuble, for that of the departed Saint. Gaufrid, in his Life of St. Bernard, tells us, that this incident was revealed, after the death of St. Bernard, to a certain monk, and to several other persons, who had not been hitherto aware of the circumstance. A few days after the death of Bernard, that Saint appeared in a glorified manner to the brother, and reproving the monks for having lamented his departure, the holy Abbot of Clairvaux added words of consolatory import, promising eternal felicity to those, who persevered in obedience to his rules and doctrine. He then said: "Know you, likewise, and tell the brethren, that the body of a true saint, whose garment I bear, is interred in the oratory." By these words he alluded to the holy bishop Malachy, whose chasuble he had preserved, for the purpose of celebrating Mass in it, during the time that intervened, between the death of the former saint, and his own departure. At the time of St. Bernard's death, the abbot of Clairvaux had requested that he might be buried in this chasuble, as Malachy's body had formerly been committed to the tomb, in his own tunic.†

The cell, in which the body of St. Malachy, as also that of St. Bernard, had been deposed, clothed in their respective episcopal and abbatial *insignia*, after death, appears to have been only used for a temporary purpose. But the place of final interment, selected for the remains of both saints, after the celebration of the funeral rites, was a

* *Le Catalogue manuscrit des Abbés de Clairvaux*, fol. 6. *rect.* thus expresses itself, regarding the interment of Gérard, the sixth abbot of Clairvaux. "Corpus ejus reconditum est ante fores ecclesiæ Clarevallensis, in cellula quæ olim honorifice parata fuerat ad receptionem corporum SS. Malachiæ et Bernardi." This notice is confirmed by the *Gallia Christiana*: "Jacet apud Claramvallum in claustro Capituli, in ipso fere ingressu ecclesiæ." *Tom.* IV. *Col.* 801. Also, by Henriquez, who referring to Gerard observes: "Sacram Corpus ejus ante fores Oratorii Clarevallis in cellula, quæ olim ob receptionem Corporum SS. Confessorum Bernardi et Malachiæ, constructa fuerat in sarcophago super pavimentum elevato conditum est." *Fasciculus SS. O. C. Tomus II. Dist. XXXV, V.*

† Gaufrid adds: "Quod tamen verbum et ipsi fratri, et quamplurimis aliis usque ad hanc visionem prorsus erat ignotum. Felix pontifex, cujus merita Pater sanctus et vivens prædicaverat, et defunctus. Felix Charitas, quæ in morte non excidit. Felix societas, quam nec illud divortium tam crudele diremit. Gloriosi siquidem Patres quemadmodum in vita sua dilexerunt se, ita et in morte non sunt seperati." See the *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV. S. Bernardi Vita Prima. Lib. V. Auctore Gaufrido. cap. III.* § 23, *col.* 364, 365.

chapel of the Blessed Virgin.* Manrique tells us, that the body of St. Malachy was placed under a stone arch.† But this indefinite description leaves us uncertain, whether his expressions refer to a particular monument, specially constructed to receive the body of our Saint, or, simply to one of the semi-circular arches or arcades, that probably surrounded the interior of the chapel. Nor, are there any known documents, that might serve to illustrate this obscure expression, the resolution of which would prove interesting, in connection with the present account of our great national Saint.‡

Many epitaphs of St. Malachy are extant,§ some of which are in verse, and attributed to St. Bernard. One of these is in prose, and taken from the book of Sepultures at Clairvaux. This was a veritable Necrology, rather than an exact collection of the funereal inscriptions of the Abbey.‖ But Manrique, who judged it to be no great antiquity, has published it, from the Book of Sepultures of Clairvaux.¶ M. Guignard thinks, that it had not been composed, before the fourteenth century.**

* *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV. Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Academie Francaise, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux, par Ph. Guignard.* § *II. n. II. col.* 1670.

† *Ann. Cist. ann.* 1148.

‡ "Je quitte à regret, M. le Comte, cette humble pierre, sous laquelle dort le grand primat d'Irlande, et que je révère comme le berceau d'une de ces vielles affections que la communautè de foi et d'espérance etablissait jadis entre les peuples, mieux que ne le sait faire de nos jours la communauté d'interêt.' *M. Guignard's Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Academie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux.* § *II. Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus* CLXXXV. *Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol.* IV. *col.* 1672.

§ See, *Menelog. Cist., 5 Nov.*——*Manrique*——*Henriques, Fasciculus SS. O. C.*

‖ "J'ai cherchè en vain ce livre des sépultures parmi les manuscrits de la Bibliothéque public de Troyes ; il n'exist pas non plus aux Archives de l'Aube. Manrique en cite de nombreux passages. On le trouve imprimé dans le *Fasciculus SS. O. C.*, a R. P. F. Chrysostomo Henriquez. Col. Agrippinæ, 1631, 2 vol. in 4to ; t. II, dist. XLI, et dans ce volume même de la *Patrologie.*" *M. Guignard's Lettre, &c.*

¶ "Ipse (S. Malachias) sub arcu lapideo positus, superaddita lapidi inscriptione quæ epitome vitæ contineret. Quam *(recentiorem tamen, ut ego arbitror)* sepulchrorum liber conservat." *Manrique, Ann. Cist., ann.* 1148.—*Ibid.*

** This epitaph runs as follows :

"*Epitaphium S. Malachiæ Episcopi ac totius Hiberniæ Primatis.*

"Hic requiescit corpus Beati Malachiæ quondam Archiepiscopi et Primatis totius Hiberniæ ac sedis Apostolicæ Legati, viri Apostolicæ vitæ et miraculis gloriosi. Hic est qui Scotiæ et Hiberniæ populos, homines scilicet tunc temporis barbaros, nulla conjugia incuntes, nullas confessiones seu pœnitentias facientes, ad Ecclesias non accedentes, nulla Sacramenta Ecclesiastica percipientes, re paganos, solo nomine Christianos, licet antea per Beatum Patricium ad fidem fuissent conversi, cum maximis periculis et difficultibus propulsata barbarie et paganica consuetudine, in fide Catholica instruxit et institutis sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, prout potuit, confirmavit. Monachorum insuper Cisterciensis Ordinis, Canonicorum regularium, aliorumque religiosorum conventus per terras illas diffusius propagavit. Quibus juvante Deo consummatis, ab ulteriori Scotia ad Claramvallem, quam suæ mortis locum semper optaverat, suo pio desiderio Domino satisfacienti, advenit, ubi septimanis circiter tribus expletis, anno ad incarnatione Domini M. C. XLVIII, ætatis autem suæ LIV, nocte, qua fit anniversarium fidelium omnium defunctorum, sicut semper optavit et prædixit singulis ab ipso benedictis, singulis manibus impositis, sæculo valefaciens ab Angelis lætabunde suscipitur, et civium supernorum beatissimo col-

On the 6th day of July, 1190, Pope Clement III. enrolled the glorious Primate of Ireland, Malachy, amongst the canonized Saints of the Church.* In the following year, 1191, a solemn translation of his remains took place, at Clairvaux.† It has been conjectured, that down to this period, the religious had not placed the remains of our Saint, in a tomb, remarkable for its magnificence; although, it is probable, that after St. Bernard's death, when they had erected a tomb in honour of the holy Abbot, they had also conferred a similar mark of distinction, on his friend St. Malachy. M. Guignard says, it is quite certain, that in 1189, the body of St. Malachy was not in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin; because, at this period, Henry, formerly Abbot of Clairvaux, and Cardinal Legate of the Apostolic See, had been interred in the choir, between St. Bernard and St. Malachy.‡ Herbert, who wrote in 1178, mentions an apparition of St. Malachy, to a monk of Clairvaux, and says, that our holy archbishop was honourably interred in the church.§ It may be asked, if the expressions he uses, in this account, are not intended to signify something more than a single tomb, in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin? For, the stone arch, even supposing its construction to have been peculiar, does not seem to denote any extraordinary grandeur, calculated to justify the terms employed by Herbert.‖ That an altar had been erected over the tomb of St. Bernard, and over that of St. Malachy, appears from the account of the Bene-

legio sociatur, secundum quod beatissimo Patri nostro Bernardo Missarum solemnia in crastino celebranti in ipso Missæ canone cœlitus exstitit revelatum, cujus preces et merita gloriosa, coram Deo gratiam nobis impetrent in præsenti, et gloriam in futuro. Amen."

* The Bull of St. Malachy's Canonization, published by Clement III., is dated the day before the Nones (6th) of July, in the third year of his pontificate. According to *l'Art de vérifier les dates*, this must have been the 6th of July, 1190. Manrique refers the election of Clement III. to the 6th of January, 1188, (*Ann. Cist. ann.* 1188) and this will accord sufficiently well with the date assigned for our Saint's Canonization. But, in the Chronicle of Clairvaux, published by Pere Chifflet, we read, "Anno Domini MCXCII, canonizatio beati Malachiæ." (*S. Bern. genus illustre assertum, p.* 89). It is difficult to understand, how this error has been allowed to enter into the great Belgian Chronicle of Clairvaux; but it has misled Manrique and Baronius. See Pagius, *Critica in Ann. Baronii. Colon. Allobrog.* 1727. *Tomus IV. p.* 685).

† "Hic idem annus (1191) festivus fuit, solemni translatione gloriosi corporis sancti Malachiæ." Manrique, *Ann. Cist., ann.* 1191, VII. And in Camden's *Britannia*, we find: "Annales Hiberniæ, anno MCXCI. In monasterio Clarævallis translatio S. Malachiæ episcopi Armachani honorifice celebrata." (*Londoni*, 1607 *fol.*).

‡ "It is said, that this Henry was honourably buried, in the aforesaid place, by the Bishop of Ligonensis. See, *Manrique, Ann. Cist., ann.* 1189, 1, 8.—*Henriquez, Fasciculus SS. O. C. Tom. II. Dist. XLI. III. Gallia Christiana, tom. IV., col.* 802.

§ "Honorifice tumulatus." *S. Bern. genus illustre assertum. Herberti de miraculis, lib.* 1, IV.

‖ M. Guignard continues: "Les corps des deux saints auraient donc suivi dès ces temps éloignés une destinée commune. Leurs tabernacles furent-ils d'une égale beauté? C'est ce que je ne puis affirmer, faute de documents; il est fort probable cependant qu'il n'y eut pas entre eux une différence trop sensible." *Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Academie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, &c.* § *III. Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus* CLXXXV. *Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol.* IV. *col.* 1685.

dictines, who had the happiness of celebrating mass, on each of these tombs.*

The public canonization of St. Malachy confirmed the veneration, in which his memory had been previously held. It caused his invocation, as a Saint, to extend beyond the limits of the Abbey of Clairvaux, and to reach even the bounds of his distant country, which rejoiced greatly, in the circumstance of its being able to inscribe the name of the holy bishop, on its extensive calendar of sanctified persons. I find it stated, that three years after the interment, at Clairvaux, which would accord with the date 1151, the relics of St. Malachy were transferred, from the place of his first deposition, to Mellifont, in Ireland, where it is said they were enshrined, in a beautiful chapel, built for that purpose.† This, however, is evidently an oversight: for, instead of three years after his interment, we should read, that three years after his first elevation from the tomb, some of his relics were conveyed to Ireland. According to most authorities, his remains were brought to Ireland, in 1194. In the MS. Annals of St. Mary's Abbey, near Dublin, it is stated that they were received with great reverence, in the Abbey of Mellifont, and in other Abbeys of the Cistercian Order.‡ The Irish monks of this order were especially desirous of procuring some relics of their holy patron and founder; and, through the intervention of Matthew O'Heney, Archbishop of Cashel,§ their desires were gratified. In the year 1194, when these precious treasures were conveyed to Ireland, they were received with the greatest honours.‖ But, it is probable, that the chief portion of the holy Prelate's remains had been always preserved in France.

The archives of l'Aube contain a charter of Robert Bruce, competitor of John Baliol, for the Scottish crown, whose mother was Isabella, daughter of David, Count of Huntingdon. By this instrument, he conveys to the Abbey of Clairvaux, his land of Osticroft, with all its appurtenances, to maintain a light, before the tomb of St. Malachy. This charter is without date, but it is possible to approach within a few years of the exact period of its issue, from a certain passage in the statutes of the general chapter of the Cistercian Order, which tends to

* *Voyage Litteraire. Tom. I. p.* 98, *et postea.* From a relation, published in the *Ann. Archéologiques*, it would seem, that the tombs of St. Bernard and of St. Malachy, were nearly similar, in appearance. The following passage, drawn from the history of the translation of St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, and written in the first half of the thirteenth century, would serve to indicate the same conclusion. "Corpora . . . beatorum confessorum Malachiæ et Bernardi abbatis, Cisterciensis Ordinis Magni Patris, licet cum reverentia et honore in marmoreis mausoleiis . . . sint sepulta, tamen absque omni auro et lapide pretioso." *Thesaurus Novus Anecdot. Tomus III. col.* 1868. *Paris*, 1717.

† "Portions of them were given to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, and to other Cistercian establishments in Ireland." See, No. XXVII. of the *Young Christian's Library. Life of St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh. p.* 24.

‡ *Harris' Ware, Vol. I. Archbishops of Armagh. p.* 57.

§ This Prelate succeeded Maurice in the see of Cashel, in 1192, and died in the year 1206, at the Cistercian Abbey of Holy Cross, in the County of Tipperary. See, *Harris' Ware, Vol. I. Archbishops of Cashel. pp.* 469, 470.

‖ Manrique, Ann. Cist., ann. 1194, II. Camden, citing the Irish Annals at the the same year, says: "Reliquiæ S. Malachiæ episcopi de Claravalle in Hiberniam sunt adductæ, et in monasterio Mellifontis et cæteris monasteriis O.C. cum maximo honore sunt receptæ."—*Britannia.*

exhibit the spirit of poverty, that reigned amongst the antient monks.* In the year 1273, the Abbot of Clairvaux applied to the general chapter to obtain the permission of having a light placed before the tomb of St. Malachy.† It is natural to suppose, that this request had reference to a rich foundation, about to be made, in honour of the holy Archbishop. And, it would seem most probable, that such foundation was that of Robert Bruce, who gave an entire tract of land, with all its dependencies, to environ the tomb of Malachy with that bright effulgence, which our pious ancestors in the faith were pleased to behold, surrounding the relics of the saints.

The permission, given to the Abbot of Clairvaux, in 1273, to put into practical operation the prayer of his petition, seems to indicate, that the date of the charter of Robert Bruce cannot be advanced beyond that year. The form of the writing, we are told, and the uniform diplomatic small letter, indicate the closing period of the thirteenth century, and thus we would be able to refer the document in question, to the time of Robert Bruce. The text of this foundation charter is written, on parchment, and the document itself has been well preserved. The charter runs as follows: "Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus de Brus, Dominus Vallis Anandi,‡ dedi et concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et Beate Marie ac domui Clarevallis et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et in perpetuum servituris, *ad sustinendum luminare coram beato Malachia*, pro salute anime mee et salute omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, totam terram meam de Osticroft, cum rectis et antiquis suis divisis et pertinenciis, ac communibus aysiamentis§ et libertatibus dicte terre pertinencibus, prout Rogerius de William Wode et Galfridus Collan ipsam terram de me quondam tenuerunt, tenendam et habendam totam terram predictam monachis predictis de me et heredibus meis, libere, quiete, plenarie, integre et honorifice sicut aliqua elemosina in toto regno Scotie liberius et quiecius tenetur aut possidetur, in boscis|| et planis, pratis et pascuis, moris¶ et mariscis,** turbariis,†† paunagiis,‡‡ et omnibus aliis aysiamentis, que in dicta terra inveniri potuerunt vel exerceri, absque omni consuetudine seculari, exactione et demanda. Volo eciam et concedo pro me et heredibus meis quod terra prefata libera sit a multura,§§ et quod tenentes eandem

* In the second Collection of the Decrees of the General Chapter, *Dist. I. cap. X. de lumine ante altare in festis sanctorum accendendo*, we read :

"Cum festum alicujus sancti evenerit, ad altare in ipsius honorem consecratum, non cereos sed lampadis lumen vel candelæ licebit accendere."—*Nomast. Cisterc. p.* 277. Paris 1664, folio.

† "Petitio D. Abbatis Clarevallis ut possit habere luminare coram tomba S. Malachiæ exauditur." *Thes. Nov. Anecdot. Select. Stat. Cap. Gen. O. Cist. ann.* 1273, *No.* 17, *Tomus IV. col.* 1440.

‡ Annandale.

§ Aysiamentis, *Easements.*

|| Boscis, *Woods.*

¶ Moris, *Moors.*

** Mariscis, *Marshes.*

†† Turbariis, *Turbaries.*

‡‡ Paunagiis, *The wastes of hedges on which swine or cattle feed; or, the money paid for them in a forest.*

§§ Multura, *The miller's toll.*

libere et sine contradictione molent in molendinis* meis. Ego vero et heredes mei predictam terram cum omnibus suis pertinenciis, ut predictum est, prefatis monachis contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabimus,† acquietabimus,‡ et defendemus in perpetuum. Ut autem hec mea donacio et concessio perpetue firmitatis robur obtineant, presens scriptum sigilli mei munimine roboravi. His testibus, Dominis David de Thorthorald, tunc Senescallus Vallis Anandi;§ Roberto de Herice; Willelmo de Sancto Michaele, militibus.——Magistro Adam de Kircudbricht; Domino Willelmo de Duncorry; Willelmo de Corri; Adam Hendeman; Ricardo Crispin; Willelmo de Are, clerico, et aliis." The seal affixed to the foregoing document was composed of white wax, hanging from jesses of vellum, and was of a round shape. It presents the appearance of a spherical cap, set against an engraved surface. On the field is a cavalier fully armed, with a closed helmet, adorned with a crest, in the form of a fan. He holds a sword in his right hand, and a shield in his left, being mounted on a horse, fully caparisoned, and galloping from right to left. The legend is ESTO...DEO? in Gothic capital letters. The height of the parchment is nine *centimètres*, and the breadth twenty-six *centimètres*.‖

CHAPTER XIX.

Decree of the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order, in 1323, regarding the solemn observance of St. Malachy's Festival.—Historic records of the relics and reliquaries of our Saint, preserved at Clairvaux.—Dispersion of these venerated objects, at the period of the French Revolution.—Former position of St. Malachy's tomb, in the suppressed Abbey of Clairvaux.—Execution of a Decree, on the part of the Directory, for the removal and distribution of our Saint's relics, with those of other saints, deposited at Clairvaux.—Account of their removal.—Special memorials of the relics of St. Malachy.

In the year 1323, the General Chapter of Citeaux decreed, that the festival of our Saint should be celebrated with becoming solemnity, by

* Molendinis, *Mills.*

† Warantizabimus, *We guarantee.*

‡ Acquietabimus, *We shall render secure.*

§ Annandale was one of the four Seneschals of Scotland. *Camden's Britannia.*

‖ See, *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV. Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Academie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux, par Ph. Guignard. Appendice. IX. No. 9. col.* 1759, 1760. We have further references to our Saint in the following extracts from the Abbé Matthieu's MS. XV. p. 17. "*Je fais l'analyse d'après le titre original sur parchemin conservé dans les archives de l'Aube.*

" Frere Jehans, abbé de Clerevaux, autorise une religieuse personne de son abbaye, mue de grant devotion . . . . . *en l'honneur et en la révérence de la benoite Trinité de paradis, aussi pour sa grant fiance . . . . . à ma Dame saincte Anne . . . . . et aux benois martirs, c'est asavoir sainctz Eutrope, Zozime et Bonose, desquieux li précieux corps posent honorablement en l'église de Clairvaux* à consacrer la somme *de* 60 *francs d'or d'ou coing d'ou roy* qu'elle avait par devers elle *par son indus-*

all the religious Communities of the Cistercians. It was then ruled, that two Masses should be offered up, on that day, and that special responses should be added for the vespers of the feast.*

The treasury of the Church of Clairvaux preserved separate portions of the relics of St. Malachy. In an inventory of its sacristy, compiled in 1504,† it is stated, that a bone of his arm was kept in a case of silver, weighing seven *marcs*‡ and a half, being ornamented with precious stones, having a ring attached to it, by chains of silver. This beautiful reliquary had been presented by Jean d'Aizanville, whose piety towards the saints of God was very remarkable. The inventory of 1640 also alludes to St. Malachy,§ the arm of silver being therein described.‖ We there find some notices of our Saint's relics, under the heading, "De pulvere capitis beati Malachiæ primatis Hiberniæ."¶ The Calendar of Citeaux, printed at Dijon, at the 17th of May, has a record regarding our Saint, which runs as follows: "Sancti Malachiæ translatio ad Avinionem." This, however, cannot mean, that the entire body of St. Malachy had been translated to Avignon, but only some fragments of his relics.

Regarding another interesting portion of our Saint's remains, the following historical notices are preserved, to our times, with the relic in question. This portion was the head of St. Malachy, as also that of his friend, St. Bernard, both of which relics had been long kept with religious veneration, at Clairvaux. It is probable that the heads of both those saints remained united to their bodies, until the fourteenth century, when Jean d'Aizanville, the thirtieth Abbot of Clairvaux,** had them exposed in rich silver-gilt busts of great value. Jean d'Aizanville governed the Cistercians, from the year 1330, to about the year 1348. There is a list of the Abbots of Clairvaux, written in the fourteenth century, yet preserved in the Library of Troyes, and to be found at the end of MS. 150. It comes down to the period of Jean d'Aizanville, during whose lifetime, it appears to have been written, and it furnishes us with contemporaneous evidence, regarding the two busts already mentioned. It says: "Johannes de Aizanvilla

trie et bonne provéance, a l'entretien perpétuel de jour et de nuit de la lampe placée devant l'autel de la sainte Trinité dans le chœur des convers, et *à l'établissement de tels et semblables luminaires en cierge de cire comme nous avons acoustumey avoir devant le grant autel ou circuite d'icelli et en la dicte église aux festes de monsieur Sainct Malachie, et de nostre glorieux père monsier sainct Bernart.*" *Ibid col.* 1763, 1764.

* "Definit Capitulum quod solemnitas B. Malachiæ episcopi et confessoris, cujus corpus in ecclesia Claravallis requiescit, devotione qua congruit, cum duabus missis et responsorio in vesperis celebretur per Ordinem universum." *Institut. cap Generalis ; ann.* 1323. *Thesaurus Novus Anecd. Tomus. IV. Col.* 1513. *n.* 1.

† *Fo.* 11 *ro.*

‡ A marc is *eight ounces* or *half-a-pound* weight.

§ *Fos.* 6 *ro*, 11 *vo*, 18 *ro.*

‖ *Fo.* 18 *vo.*

¶ *Fos.* 19 *vo.* and 20 *ro.*

** According to the *Gallia Christiana. Tome* IV. *col.* 809, Jean d'Aizanville was the thirty-first Abbot of Clairvaux ; but, this error has been corrected by M. Guignard. in his *Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Académie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard, et de S. Malachie, &c.* § 1. and *n.* 2, *col.* 1663, 1664. Also, *Appendix, No. col.* 1713 to 1716. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.*

monachus et cellerarius Clarevallis præfuit annis;" the space following is unwritten, whence it may be inferred, that the Abbot spoken of was living, at the time the MS. was written. "Iste fecit vasa argentea optime deaurata, in quibus sunt reposita capita gloriosorum confessorum beati Malachiæ et Sancti Bernardi." The MS. Catalogue of the Abbots of Clairvaux* and also the *Gallia Christiana*† serve to confirm the foregoing notice. But, the most curious details, on this subject, are to be found in the Inventory of the Sacristy of Clairvaux, drawn up in the year 1504.‡ After describing the reliquary, in which the head of St. Bernard was kept, the MS. then proceeds to describe the bust of St. Malachy, which was said to have been contained in a silver-gilt vessel, containing sixty-one *marcs* of silver, which John d'Aizanville had caused to be made. In this reposed the head of the beatified Archbishop, Malachy, having on it a mitre, adorned with many precious stones. On the top of this mitre six precious sapphires were placed; and, on the breast of the Saint, one sapphire was set, which was particularly valuable. This latter was surrounded by many other sapphires and precious stones. The head of the Saint was sustained, by six silver images.§

Dom Joseph Mélinger, a religious of Wettingen, in the diocese of Constance, published a narrative‖ entitled, *Descriptio Itineris Cisterciencis, quod ad Comitia generalia ejusdem sacri Ordinis, faventibus superis, feliciter expedivit F. Joseph Melinger, Religiosus Sacerdos monasterii B. Mariæ de Maris Stella, vulgo Wettingen, mense Maio, anni* 1667. In this very interesting account, he describes, amongst other objects, the shrines, containing the heads of St. Bernard and St. Malachy.¶ After relating the pious emotions excited in his own mind, and in the

* The following is the title of this MS., as drawn up by Dom. Antoine Saulnier, secretary of Dom. Denis Largentier: *Elogia Singulorum Clarevallis Abbatum, a B. P. N. Bernardo, usque ad Rev. admodum P. ac D. Dionysium Largentier felicis memoriæ Abbatem XLIV.* In 1845, the original MS. was in the possession of M. Garnier, advocate of Bar-sur-Aube. These *Elogia* had been continued, to 1761, by an unknown author. M. Harmand, Librarian of the city of Troyes, transcribed a copy of the MS. thus augmented, which he allowed M. Guignard to use. In this MS. at Fo. XVIII, Ro. is found: "Johannes de Aizanvilla fecit capita SS. confessorum Malachiæ et Bernardi."

† Johannes de Aizanvilla, Clarevallensis Abbas . . . . . capita Sancti Bernardi et Sancti Malachiæ preciocissimis vasculis inclusit." *Tomus IV. col.* 809.

‡ The archives of l'Aube possess two MS. Inventories of the Sacristy of Clairvaux: one of these was written, in 1504, and the other in 1640. M. Guignard could not find a copy of either, amongst the numerous MSS. of the Library of Troyes. Of the Inventory of 1504, there are only two copies of the eighteenth century extant; both of them are full of errors, yet, either MS. serves to correct the other. Manrique has cited some passages from them.

§ "Vas argenteum deauratum continens LXI. marcas argenti, quod fieri fecit prædictus domnus Johannes de Aizanvilla; in quo requiescit caput beati Malachiæ, archiepiscopi, habens in capite mitram multis lapidibus preciosis decoratam, in cujus summitate sunt sex saphiri preciosi, et in pectore ejusdem unus saphirus preciosus cum multis aliis saphiris et lapidibus preciosis circumquaque; quod caput sex imaginibus argenteis sustentatur." *Folio VIII, recto et verso.*

‖ It first appeared at Lucerne, in 32mo. It has been re-issued, in the *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV. col.* 1565 to 1622.

¶ "Qua cellarum series in dextro dormitorii pariete desinit: ferrea janua concameratum aperit conclave, in quo thesaurus ecclesiæ reponitur; ad quem spectan-

souls of those, who had accompanied him to the shrine of the former Saint, he then alludes to the impressions produced, on turning towards the shrine of St. Malachy.*

Dom Martène and Dom Durand inform us, that they saw in the Treasury of Clairvaux, during the early part of the last century, the heads of St. Bernard and St. Malachy.† They were set in two beautiful silver-gilt busts, which were enamelled or coloured. They have also remarked, that those busts were carried in the processions, which were instituted, on occasions of public necessity.

But, with many other religious monuments in France, the rich shrines, containing these relics of St. Bernard and St. Malachy, were destined to suffer desecration, through the infidel Vandalism that prevailed, during the period of the French Revolution. Towards the end of the year 1790, M. Louis Marie Rocourt, the fifty-first and last Abbot of Clairvaux, seeing the disastrous turn public affairs were taking, made an effort to save the most valuable relics of the abbatial Treasury.‡ In the presence of many persons whose names have not come down to us, owing probably to the fear entertained of placing them on record, the portions of bones, which were enclosed within the busts of St. Bernard and of St. Malachy, were removed from their rich casing. The Abbot then applied the abbatial seal to authenticate the relics.§ When the times became more settled, M. Rocourt gave both these heads to M. Caffarelli, Prefect of Aube.|| The latter presented

dum omnes simul, circiter viginti advenæ, tum abbates, tum alii intromissi sumus, obseratis interim foribus. Magna circumquaque scrinia thesaurum occultant ; quorum primum cum pandere amotis tribus pessulis vellet, penes quem hujus pretiosissimæ supellectilis cura, prænonuit, sacra capita divorum Bernardi et Malachiæ ibi latere, amota igitur janua repente emicuere conflatæ ex auro argentoque duæ imagines, ita ad vivum expressæ, ut primo aspectu starem attonitus, fixisque in illas occulis admirabundus præstolarer, an loqui vellent." *Ibid.* § 58. *col.* 1601.

* " Eo relicto ad pone stantem divi archipræsulis Malachiæ effigiem, pari artificio admirandam conversus rursum dulci dissuaviatione premebat. Et hic est ille Malachias archiepiscopus et primas Hiberniæ, multis prodigiis celebris ; et vel hoc uno clarissimus, quod diem supremum obeunti oculos clausit Bernardus, et pulcherrimo sermone, quo ejus sanctissima vita enarratur, parentavit. Legitur in hodiernum usque diem ejus in Claravalle epitaphium in hæc verba : (here follows the epitaph on our Saint, which has been already given in a preceding page.) . . . . Omnium manibus teruntur miranda hujus divi Malachiæ de summis pontificibus vaticinia, hactenus eventus veritate comprobata. Nuper electum Clementem XI. contingit : *Sidus Olorum.* Cujus expositionem doctis relinquo." *Ibid. col.* 1601, 1602.

† See, *Voyage Littéraire de deux religieux Benedictins. Tome II. p.* 98 *et suiv. Paris,* 1717.

‡ The public seals were affixed to the Abbey of Clairvaux, from the 17th to the 24th of November, 1790. The *procès-verbal* of their apposition, drawn up by the delegated administrators of the district of Bar-sur-Aube, is yet extant, amongst the archives of Aube.

§ " Le certificat de M. Rocourt, constatant l'authenticité du chef de Saint Malachie, et l'autorisation de l'exposer donnée par M. de Boulogne, se trouvent dans la châsse de Saint Malachie, mais comme ces documents sont entièrement semblables a ceux que nous venons de citer et portent les mêmes dates, il est inutile de les reproduire." *M. Guignard's Lettre a M. le Compte de Montalembert, &c. Appendice. No* 3. *col.* 1718. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.*

|| The silver, of which the shrines had been composed, was sent to Paris, to supply the wants of the public treasury. *Ibid.* § 1. *col.* 1667, 1668.

them to the Cathedral of Troyes, on the 24th of December, 1813. On the 4th of September, 1816, Monseigneur de Boulogne, then bishop, exposed them in shrines of wood, for the veneration of the faithful.* When M. Guignard wrote his first letter to the Count de Montalembert, on the 15th of October, 1845, the heads of St. Bernard and of St. Malachy were preserved in the foregoing wooden *coffrets*, under the high altar of the Cathedral of Troyes. But, as the damp had some injurious influence on these plain and unornamented *coffrets*, which were hardly worthy of the name of shrines, it was afterwards judged necessary to withdraw them from their former situation. They were removed to the Sacristy, until they could be replaced by small monuments, more in keeping with these precious relics they contained. The head of St. Bernard was then placed at the epistle side of the high altar, presenting to view, the anterior part of the *cranium*, and the bones of the face; whilst, the head of St Malachy occupied the gospel side of the altar, and exposed to sight the hinder part of the *cranium*.†

It would seem that on the 19th of October, 1790, the bust of St. Bernard was the only reliquary of silver left in the treasury at Clairvaux. In the year 1789, M. Rocourt had sent to the national Treasury, at Paris, 993 *marcs* of silver, and over 9 *marcs* of gold, from the Abbey of Clairvaux. Three different receipts had been given, one of which served to acknowledge that the abbey had paid the national contribution, which had been levied on it.‡ From the foregoing statements, it is evident, that the rich materials of the magnificent shrine, in which the Abbot Jean d'Aizanville had placed the head of our Saint, must have been removed from Clairvaux, by the revolutionary agents, previous to the 19th of October, 1790.§

The position formerly occupied, by the tomb of St. Malachy, before the alterations made in the church of Clairvaux, during the last century, can be determined with great accuracy, from two valuable documents still extant. The first of these consists of three different views of the abbey of Clairvaux, designed by Dom Nicolas Milley, prior of Mores, in 1708. This contains a plan of the church.‖ The second is a detached sheet, in the hand-writing of Dom Le Boullenger, on which he indicates the name of the chapels and the position of the tombs, therein contained.¶ Nine chapels are represented, as surround-

* *Ibid.*

† *Ibid. col.* 1663.

‡ These details are to be found amongst the Archives of l'Aube, in a document called *Deuxième inventaire de Clairvaux*, drawn up on the 19th of October, 1790, by the delegated administrators of the district of Bar-sur-Aube.

§ See, *M. Guignard's Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Académie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux.* § 1. *Chefs de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie conservés a la cathédral de Troyes. col.* 1663 *to* 1668 *et nn. Ibid. Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.*

‖ See, *M. Guignard's Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, &c.* §. *III.* and *n.* 1. col. 1686, 1687. And *Appendice. No.* 10. *col.* 1763 to 1766. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus, Tomus, CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.*

¶ This plan is in the keeping of M. Harmand, Librarian of the city of Troyes. A very interesting diagram is presented, by M. Guignard, in the Appendix to his Letter, addressed to the Count de Montalembert, on the Relics of St. Bernard and

ing the choir; but, according to the plan of Dom Milley, the first chapel on the epistle side does not appear to contain an altar, and seems only to have been a passage, communicating with a small cloister. But, as Dom Le Boullenger has called it a chapel, we may suppose, that he had copied a notice of it, which was written anterior to the year 1708. Our present object, not being to describe minutely the features of these several chapels, or specially to recal the memorials of those persons, who were there interred, it will be sufficient to afford a general idea of the exact location of St. Malachy's tomb, opposite the chapel, said to have been dedicated to St. Stephen and to St. Sebastian. Immediately to the rere of the high altar, the different tombs, already alluded to, succeed each other, in the form of a semi-circle. The tomb of St. Bernard lay immediately behind the high altar, in the centre of the other tombs, which extended on either side. Next to the tomb of St. Bernard lay that of the Cardinal Henry VII., abbot of Clairvaux, and the next succeeding mausoleum was that of St. Malachy, on the Gospel side of the high altar, but somewhat to the rear of it. In Dom Le Boullenger's plan, the tomb of our saint has the number *seven* attached to it, commencing with number *one*, on the epistle side of the high altar.*

Dom Joseph Méglinger, in his account of the Cistercian journey made by him, after the middle of the seventeenth century, has indicated the positions of the tombs of St. Bernard and of St. Malachy, with that of the holy martyrs Eutropius, Zozimus, and Bonosa.† His account exactly agrees with that of Dom Le Boullenger. He also tells us, that these three altars were formed of red marble and alabaster or gypsum; whilst, around them were placed certain white stalls, which were so conveniently constructed, that those who occupied them when kneeling, were screened from the view of persons, that might be passing at the time.‡ A semi-circular passage seems to have

St. Malachy. By this, we are enabled, not only to understand the location of the nine different chapels, surrounding the choir of the church of Clairvaux, and of the tombs, which are opposite, but even, the names of the saints and other distinguished persons are given, who were interred in them. There are also interesting particulars, regarding these chapels and tombs, with the orders given by an abbot of Clairvaux, for the authentication of the relics of the holy Martyrs, Eutropius, Zozimus and Bonosa, whose relics were deposited in one of these chapels. See, *Ibid. col.* 1687. *n.* 2. and *Appendicæ.* No. II. *col.* 1765 to 1770.

* "Inter tumbas SS. CC. Christi Bernardi et Malachiæ jacet bonæ memoriæ D. Henricus." *Henriquez Fasciculus SS. O.C. Tomus. III.* The foregoing is about as complete a description of the position of our saint's tomb as could be given, without an accompanying diagram.

† "Retro summam altare (quod nulli parieti junctum est) tria altaria; divi Bernardi in medio; a latere dextro divi Malachiæ; hinc SS. martyrum Eutropii, Zozymæ, et Bonosæ sepulchris sunt instrata. Eadem sepulcra, quantum post suum murum exstant, alio fornice teguntur, spatiumque præbent transeundi, et illa de genibus privata pietate venerandi. Extra quem arcum plura alia sacella, opere concamerato itidem extructa, et sacris exuviis celebria, ecclesiam claudunt." *Descriptio Itineris Cisterciensis.* §. 53. *col.* 1599. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.*

‡ "Quod a divino officio tempus supererat, in exteriori parte, quæ retro altaria circumducitur, consumpsi, ubi tria quæ superius dixi, sepulcra ex marmore rubeo, et alabastrite aut gypso existunt. Et candida quidem circa tumulos pegmata ita commode astructa sunt; ut in genua prostratus sese illis recondere, et suæ pietati se-

intervened, between the tombs, which were isolated from the rere wall of the choir, and between the nine different chapels, opposed to them, which rested against the choir-wall to the rere.

The antient church of Clairvaux, appears to have existed, in its primitive state, from the days of St. Bernard and St. Malachy, until before the middle of the last century, when Dom Robert Gassot du Défens, who governed the Abbey, from 1718 to 1740, as the forty-eighth Abbot, caused an entire alteration to be made, under the pretext of restoration. For his efforts, in adorning the house of God, great praise has been bestowed upon him, by various writers; but, it is to be regretted, both in an artistic and religious point of view, that false taste should have demanded the entire alteration of a monument, commenced by St. Bernard. The chapels, connected with the choir wall, were destroyed, whilst a lower part of the church was removed, to construct the Abbatial Court or Hall, before the doors of the sacred edifice.* But, there is every reason to suppose, down to the period of the French Revolution, that the various tombs, surrounding the altar, remained in their original position; as even the extensive alterations, made in the church, did not require their removal.

On the 15th of January, 1792, at ten o'clock in the morning, the property of the former abbey of Clairvaux was offered for public sale, at Bar-sur-Aube, by the agents of the Revolution. But, no bidders being present to offer the required sum for its purchase, the sale appears to have been adjourned to the 10th of February following, at the same hour and place. The property, with certain reservations, was sold to the Sieur Pierre-Claude Cauzon, architect, residing at Bar-sur-Aube, for the sum of 337,500 livres. But, by an existing law, the purchaser could not demolish or make any change in the church, without having given two months' notice, to the administrators of the district. He had converted the church into a glass manufactory, and as the tombs interfered with the requisite operations, he addressed a letter, on the 23rd of April, 1793, to the administrators of the Directory of Aube. The furnaces being constructed, at a little dis-

motus ab transeuntium aspectu vacare possit." *Ibid.* §. 55. "Cette description confirme les détails de la relation publiée dans les *Annales archéologiques:* "*Derrière* [*le*] *grand aultel y a trois beaulx et riches aultels d'albastre, dont celluy du millieu est l'autel Mgr. S. Bernard. . . . Ledict autel est couvert d'un tabernacle de pier à quatre pilliers, dont les deux premiers sont à costé dudict autel, servans de colonnes et les deux aultres, derière celuy autel, faisans ledict tabernacle couverture audit autel, et semblablement au vasseau où sont les ossemens de Sainct Bernard, qui est derier ledict autel; icelluy vasseau estant de pierre, dont la couverture est de couleur de pourphire, et de costé et d'autre dudict vasseau ou fierte l'on se peut mettre à genoul pour saluer le sainct, en disant son oroison, qui est en des petis tableaux de chascun costé.*" See, *M. Guignard's Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, &c. III. col.* 1688, 1689. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus. CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.*

* "Un plan dressé en 1808 par M. Gilbert, architecte des bâtiments civils près du ministère de l'intérieur, alors que l'église reconstruite par Dom Gassot existait encore, donne une idée exacte des mutilations qu'elle eut à subir. M. Arnaud, dans le voyage archéologique et pittoresque dans le département de l'Aube, a reproduit, sans l'indiquer, le plan de l'ancienne église d'après Dom Milley, et celui de l'église reconstruite d'après M. Gilbert. On regrette que l'auteur de cet intéressant ouvrage n'ait consacré qu'une quarantaine de lignes à la description de l'abbaye de Clairvaux." *Ibid.* §. *III. n.* 4. *col.* 1689.

tance from the tombs, the proprietor complained of the obstruction caused by the latter, as his principal motive for wishing them removed; a secondary reason was the requirement of public decency. He proposed, that these tombs should be inspected and opened, so that, in case they contained bones or relics, the latter might be removed, by the *curé* of the parish, within which the building was situated.

Three days after this letter had been written, the Directory issued an order for the interment of these bones alluded to, within the cemetery of the parish. The architect of the department wrote again, to give an account of his proceedings. The exact date of this letter is not known; but, the letter itself appears to have been written, not very long after the issuing of the order by the Directory. The following version is offered, as an English translation of this letter:—

"To the citizen administrators, composing the Directory of the Department of Aube.

"The architect of the Department of Aube has the honor of making known to you, that in execution of your decree of the 26th of last April, he visited the former Abbey of Clairvaux, to cause the tombs and mausoleums there to be opened. At the opening of these tombs, as he had directed, within them were found inclosed, the relics of different men, revered as saints, such as St. Bernard, first Abbot of Clairvaux, St. Malachy, St. Eutropius and others, according to their several inscriptions.

"It was thought expedient to respect public opinion, by reserving the bones of these personages from interment, in the cemetery of the parish, as your decree recommended; and they have accordingly been deposed, in a particular apartment of the house, whilst expecting your final decree, on this matter.

"From the consultation he has had with the citizen *curé* of Ville, in which parish the house of Clairvaux is situated, it would appear, that the inhabitants desire to preserve in reliquaries, the remains of these great men, for whom their veneration is extreme, and, perhaps, it might prove dangerous to oppose their wishes; to satisfy their desires it would be necessary, to have three wooden cases, in the shape of shrines, to depose the bones contained in the leaden cases. They would recommend a translation of these remains to be made to their church.

"Amongst the mausoleums and other tombs, the architect has found the bones of many archbishops, bishops and abbots, which he has caused to be collected in baskets, and which can be interred in the cemetery of the parish; but, moreover, a considerable collection of bones, consisting of more than three cubic fathoms, found in a sepulchral chapel, has suspended all translation and burial of the remains, until your pleasure shall be known, by an ordnance, referring to this matter.*

* The remains alluded to, in the latter instance, were doubtless those deposed, in the crypt of the chapel of the Counts of Flanders, where the first companions of Saint Bernard were interred, and whose relics had been transferred from the first cemetery of the Abbey, on the 2nd of November, 1148, to where a new cemetery

"Following out your decree, the architect has caused the marbles and stones, which have been preserved after a demolition of the tombs and mausoleums, to be collected in a particular place; and, it would be necessary for the administration of the district of Bar-sur-Aube to proceed with a sale of the *débris*, in order to prevent their loss and dispersion, as, also, that the price obtained thereby might be applied to defray the expense of demolition and translation."*

On the 8th of May, 1793, the administrators of the Directory of the Department of Aube issued a new decree, in which they authorise the distribution, amongst the inhabitants of Ville-sous La-Ferté, Longchamps, and other surrounding parishes, of the bones and relics of St. Bernard, St. Malachy, St. Eutropius and of other holy persons, found in the supposed abbey at Clairvaux. These relics were to be transferred, to the churches of the aforesaid parishes, at the expense of their several revenues. The inhabitants of the parishes, who desired to obtain these relics for their churches, were obliged to furnish the wooden cases, in which they were to be kept. But, the other bones, found in the different tombs and mausoleums, were to be interred without any particular ceremony, to avoid expense, as the document in question remarks. The marbles and stones, of which the tombs and mausoleums had been composed, were to be sold immediately, on the spot, for the benefit of the Republic.†

The following notes, regarding the opening of the tombs at Clairvaux, have been drawn up, by M. Delaine, formerly administrator of the Directory of the district of Bar-sur-Aube, who was present, at the time of the removal of the relics. The original of these notes is in French, of which a translation is here submitted:—

"In 1793, being administrator of the Directory of the District of Bar-sur-Aube, I assisted, in this character, with three of my colleagues, who are now deceased, at the opening of the tombs, which were in the church of the Abbey of Clairvaux, where a glass manufactory had been established.

"The tomb of St. Bernard, under a leaden coffin, enclosed bones representing the skeleton of a man, the head being removed; they were enveloped in a shroud of fine and well preserved linen, which was again covered with a piece of stuff, the tissue of which was composed of silk and wool.

"Another tomb—that of St. Malachy—under a coffin of lead, also contained the bones of a man, with all his teeth, presenting to view a complete skeleton.‡

had been constructed to receive them. This first removal occurred on the very day of the death of St. Malachy, or perhaps, on the day preceding his demise.

* *Archives de l'Aube.*

† "Fait en séance publique du directoire à Troyes, le mercredi, 8 mai 1793, l'an II. de la République Française, après midi."—*Archives de l'Aube.*

‡ From this notice, it would appear, that the front, or, at least, the lower portion of the facial bones of St. Malachy had not been removed, from the tomb, in which his remains had been deposited. Perhaps, however, the teeth had fallen out from the jaw bones of our Saint. Although his head is said to have been kept, in a separate reliquary, and although it is yet preserved, in the cathedral of Troyes; yet, it must be observed, as already stated, that the hinder part of the cranium is

"In these tombs, composed of marble, there were some inscriptions, in Gothic and in illegible characters, and on rolls of parchment.

"I took away fragments of the shroud of St. Bernard, and of the piece of stuff that covered it, as also, detached bones of his hands, and a tooth of St. Malachy.

"I had preserved them, until 1814, at which time they were lost, through the casualties of war.

"I only possess, at present, a fragment of the piece of stuff, six *centimètres* in length, by four *centimètres* in breadth, different on both sides; the lower part of one of these sides being of azure blue, with a design representing a lion of a golden yellow colour, whilst, on the other side, the golden yellow is seen, the lion being blue.

"After the opening of these tombs, the bones had been religiously transferred to the cemetery of the parish of Ville-sous-l'Afferté *(sic)*, to which Clairvaux is attached, through the exertions of the administration."*

An authentication of these preceding notices is given, by four of the sons of M. Delaine, who declared, that during the life time of their father, they had frequently heard him relate the occurrences detailed in the written document.† The Count de Montalembert has likewise signed a certificate, to the effect, that the original notes of M. Delaine were in his possession, as also, the fragment of silk and woollen stuff, of which they had furnished a very exact description.‡

These are the only authentic written memorials that are extant, regarding the foregoing particular relics of our Saint, and those of the

only to be seen, in its present case. I know not how to account for the contrivance, whereby the rich mitre had been placed, on the incomplete head of our Saint, as found in the description, contained in the inventory of the sacristy of Clairvaux, compiled in the year 1504.

* In the *Secretaire* of the Bishopric of Troyes, a very interesting letter is preserved, which had been written, on the 6th of September, 1844, by M. l'Abbé Jacquinot, former curé of Ville-sous-La Ferté, from which it would seem, that this ecclesiastic had addressed the following question, to M. Delaine: "Vous dites que les ossements ont été déposés au cimetière de Ville, tandis que nous avons 300 témoins pour attester qu'ils ont été portés à l'église, déposés dans le chœur, puis renfermés à la sacristie, et qu'ils n'ont jamais été enterrés dans le cimetière." To this question M. Delaine replied: "Je sais, que tel était l'ordre du directoire; je n'assistais pas à la translation; nous nous étions partagé la besogne avec mes collègues; c'était l'un d'eux qui devait y assister."

† The following is a copy of the appended certificate. "*Nous sous-signés certifions que la notice ci-dessus émane de M. Delaine, notre père, ancien juge de paix du canton de Brienne-le-Château, décédé à Dienville le 28 février* 1850, *à l'âge de* 84 *ans et* 5 *mois, qui l'a écrite de sa main, et qui nous a plusieurs fois, durant son existence, raconté les faits qu'elle contient.*

Dienville, ce . . . mars 1850.

Signé: DELAINE *aîné, notaire honoraire;* DELAINE, *docteur-médecin;* DELAINE, *avoué à la cour d'appel de Paris;* Alex. DELAINE, *docteur-médecin.*"

‡ "*Le soussigné ancien Pair de France, et l'un des quarante de l'Académie Française, certifie que l'original de la notice ci-dessus est en sa possession, ainsi qu'un fragment de l'étoffe en soie et laine qui y est très-exactement décrite.*

"*Fait à la Roche-en-Breny (Côte d'Or), ce* 19 *Novembre* 1854.

"*Signé: Charles, Comte* DE MONTALEMBERT."

other holy persons, who had been interred at Clairvaux. On the removal from the suppressed abbey, it is well known, that their bones had been translated to the neighbouring church of Ville-sous-La-Ferté; but, it is to be regretted, that no regular *procès verbal* exists, to assure us, that the separate remains of each particular saint had been preserved, in a distinct manner. We have too much reason to fear, that the relics of the several saints, once preserved, with such especial veneration in the former Abbey of Clairvaux, have been mingled together, during the process of translation from their tombs, so that it would be impossible to distinguish them, with any degree of accuracy, in their present state. Oral tradition supplies the want of documentary evidence, only in a very imperfect and unsatisfactory manner; but, it must interest all, who entertain a veneration for reminiscences connected with St. Malachy, to trace the memorials of his mortal remains still further down the stream of time, even with the aid of vague popular recollections, too often submitted to a faithless memory.*

M. l'abbé Jacquinot, whose name has been already mentioned, in connection with a communication written to M. Delaine, has stated, in the same letter, a constant tradition, at Ville-sous-La-Ferté, that the bones of St. Bernard were of a dark hue, whilst those of St. Malachy, on the contrary, were of a very white colour. From the same letter we are also given to understand, that M. Delaine confirmed this tradition, by stating that whilst the relics of St. Bernard were of a dark colour, those of our Saint were distinguished by presenting a chalk-white appearance. In fine, M. l'abbé Jacquinot relates, that M. l'abbé Chrétien, who was present, at the translation, which took place in 1795, had often stated to *M. le curé* of La Ferté, that it was a matter of no great difficulty, to distinguish between the relics of St. Bernard and those of St. Malachy; for, whilst those of the former saint were of a greyish-yellow colour, those of the latter were perfectly white.

In the church of Ville-sous-La-Ferté,† there is a small sacristy, behind a pilastered wainscotting, which terminates the choir, and the apsis of the building. On the front of this wainscot, behind the high altar, are hung three tapestries, valuable in an antique point of view. Although, they seem to have been produced by the same hands, each one of these is not of equal merit. That, in the centre, represents our Saviour on a cross. On either side of it, are to be seen the figures of St. Bernard and of St. Malachy, represented about the natural size. The tapestry, containing the representation of St. Bernard, appears to bear the palm of excellence, amongst the three mentioned:

* For the foregoing, and many other particulars, especially relating to the relics of St. Bernard and of his first companions at Clairvaux, the reader is referred to M. Guignard's *Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert de l'Academie Francaise, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux.* §. *III. Suite de l'histoire des corps de Saint Bernard et de Saint Malachie, jusqu'en* 1793. *col.* 1683 *to* 1698 *and nn. Ibid. Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.*

† The village of Ville-sous-La-Ferté is distant, about three *kilomètres*, from Clairvaux. It formerly belonged to the diocese of Langres; but, at the time of the Concordat, this *commune* had been attached to the diocese of Troyes. It contains a beautiful church, built about the middle of the last century.

and, whilst that of the crucifixion is not remarkable for beauty, as a work of art, we are told, that St. Malachy is represented as clothed in his pontifical garments, with a mitre surmounting his head. His cope is full and richly ornamented; the head of the saint is beautiful, but rather fantastically designed. The figure of St. Malachy is on the Epistle side of the high altar, whilst that of St. Bernard occupies the Gospel side. These beautiful tapestries are in a very bad state of preservation. It would be desirable, that a competent artist could be found to restore them; and, above all, that a talented engraver would preserve their outlines, for a future generation.*

Within the small sacristy, already mentioned, are deposited those human remains, taken from the church of Clairvaux, in 1793, and transferred to that of Ville-sous-La-Fertè. They repose in an old chest, which formerly contained the valuables of the church. Before the year 1836 or 1837, these remains were kept in the baskets, which had been used, at the time of their translation; since the period first designated, the bones were thrown promiscuously into the worm-eaten chest alluded to, and the baskets were burned. This wooden chest, which is kept locked, is of a square shape, and mounted on four feet. It is a *mètre* and three *centimètres* in length, sixty-eight *centimètres* in breadth, and thirty-one *centimètres* in depth. This chest is about half filled with bones: and, amongst them, four skulls are particularly remarkable; a lower jaw-bone, containing some teeth; with two thigh-bones of a very dark brown colour, and two others extremely white. The dark-coloured *femoral* bones are much larger and longer, than those last mentioned.† There is a considerable quantity of small bones, with the white femoral remains. Besides these relics, there are other objects, contained in the chest. 1. A bag formed of two yellow-coloured skins of considerable thickness, and united by a very perfect and strong seam. This bag is open at one end, and is divided longitudinally, being one *mètre* and sixty *centimètres*, in length, by thirty-five *centimètres*, in breadth. 2. A fragment of violet silk stuff, on which golden griffons are embroidered, holding birds in their claws, designed in white silk 3. In fine, a little board, very thin, (ninety-five *millimètres* high, and twelve *centimètres* wide), covered with a sheet of parchment, projecting on the edges, where it is fastened by small nails. A piece of wood attached, and nailed on the lower part, affords the presumption, that this small board was destined to stand erect. The parchment has an inscription of four lines, the extremities of which

* M. Guignard adds, in a note: "Monsieur le curé de Ville connâit toute la valeur des deux tableaux; et les trésors de son église ne saurient êtres placés en de meilleures mains que les siennes."

† We know that St. Bernard was above the middle hight. "Statura mediocritatis honestæ, longitudini tamen vicinior apparebat." See *S. Bernardi Vita Prima, Liber. III. auctore Gaufrido. Cap. I. §. I. col.* 303. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.* Hence, perhaps, we might be correct in stating, that whilst the dark coloured femoral bones were a portion of St. Bernard's remains, it is not unlikely, the white ones were the relics of St. Malachy. The comparative length and size of these several remains might also suggest the probability that our Saint had not exceeded the middle size, or, at least, that his lower limbs were not comparable, in proportionate dimensions, to those of his friend the Abbot of Clairvaux.

remain, although the centre is worn: there are words, almost complete, and fragments of words, which enable us even yet to restore the sense. The characters are of the twelfth century; and the inscription is evidently, *Fasciculus myrrhæ. . . . Dilectus meus mihi. . . . Inter ubera mea. . . Commorabitur.* M. Guignard has given a diagram, representing this inscription, in its worn state.*

The church of Ramerupt, in the *arrondissement* of Arcis-sur-Aube, contains two different fragments of relics; one of these constituting a portion of the head of St. Bernard, and the other, a part of the head of St. Malachy. They had been presented by M. Millot, formerly chief register of the tribunal of Troyes. M.Millot received them from M. l'abbe Dolat, *curé* of St. Madeleine of Troyes, who in turn had obtained them from a third person. From the copy of the authentication of these relics, it would appear, that they were originally given on the 2nd of April, 1790, by M. Rocourt, Abbot of Clairvaux, at the request of a M. Jean Jemelet, in trust for another person of approved character and piety.* These fragments had been sawed from the respective *craniums.* The relic of St. Bernard is 66 *millimètres* in length; 18 *millimètres* at its greatest breadth, and 5 only at its narrowest part; its thickness, taken at both extremities, is from 7 to 8 *millimètres.* The following are the dimensions of the relic of St. Malachy, disposed in the order preceding: 48 *millimèteres*—15 and 14 *millimètres*—6 and 5 *millimètres.* The relic of St. Bernard is of a much darker colour than that of St. Malachy. Each fragment has its piece of red silk attached, and bears the same seal, as that affixed to the

* See, *Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Academie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux.* §. *IV. Visite à Ville-sous-La-Ferté.—Recherches sur le premier emplacement de l'abbaye de Clairvaux. col.* 1697 to 1701. *and nn. Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.*

* The following is a copy of this authentication: "Nos frater Ludovicus-Maria Rocourt, sacræ Facultatis Parisiensis doctor theologus, ordinis Cisterciensis Pater primarius, Abbas Claræ vallis in diœcesi Lingonensi, omnibus præsentes litteras inspecturis et singulis quorum interest, salutem in Domino. Notum et certum facimus quod die secunda mensis Aprilis anni millesimi septingentesimi nonagesimi, precibus domini Joannis Jemelet in favorem alterius personæ religionis Catholicæ apostolicæ et Romanæ cultricis, famæque et nominis integritate commendabilis, benigne annuentes, et propter singularem nostram erga ipsum dilectionem Christianamque fraternitatem, præsente ipso supradicto domino, præsentibusque dominis Francisco Brelet et Petro Francisco Meriot, ac insuper Ludovico Lavocat secretario commisso ad hoc specialiter invitatis subsignatis, parvas ex capite S. Bernardi primi Claræ vallis Abbatis, et ex capite Divi Malachiæ archiepiscopi vulgo Darmagh in Hibernia, veræ caritatis fœdere sanctissimo Bernardo adstricti dum viveret, et in nostra ecclesia sepulti, particulas excerpsimus, quas supradicto domino Jemelet dedimus, serico purpuram rubente, desuper papyro se orsim obvoluto ac sigillo nostro nostrique archicœnobii obsigillato impositas. In cujus rei fidem sub signo nostro manuali præsentes emissimus et archicœnobii muniri jussimus, die, mense et anno quibus supra. *Locus Sigilli.* J. Jemelet. P. F. Meriot. F. Brelet. F. L. M. Rocourt, abbas Claræ vallis."

L. Lavocat, Sec^us. Comm^us.

The original authentication is on a leaf of folded paper, ruled with blue colouring matter. The seal is of red wax, impressed, and representing as its motto, "un écu portant de . . . au chevron chargé de trois trèfles de . . . abaissé sous une fasce de . . . chargé de trois trèfles de . . . parti de Clairvaux; surmonté d'une couronne de comte, timbré à dextre et à sénestre d'une mître."

authentication. The seal of Monseigneur, the Bishop of Troyes, who had authenticated these relics, the 15th of July, 1850, is also added. Each fragment is likewise enclosed, in a paper of the same description, as that on which the authentication is written; and, it is impressed with the same seal, which it is not necessary to break, in order to open the respective parcels. The superscription on either is, *De Capite S. Bernardi*, and, *De Capite S. Malachiæ*, in the same hand-writing with the authenticatory document.

Amongst other gifts of relics, by M. Rocourt, was a portion of our Saint's *cranium*, with a part of St. Bernard's: these were presented to R. P. D. Augustin de Lestranges, in 1791. They were contained in two parcels of considerable size; and their authentication had been read, by a person, who lived for a long time, at la Trappe de Bellefontaine. The note, containing this account, had been sent to M. Guignard, by M. Du Lac, on the 19th of February, 1846. This note states, that the writer had seen the particles, given by D. Augustin, to the Abbey of Bellefontaine. Each of these was about a *centimètre* square, and from about 4 to 5 *millimètres*, in thickness. It is known, and the records of Val-Sainte * in Switzerland attest the fact, that the *abbé* D. Augustin gave nearly equal portions of them, to a considerable number of his monasteries, and that he retained, in his possession, at Val-Saint, a relic sufficiently large, to allow of its distribution in fragments, to houses which were expected afterwards to spring into existence. The relics given to the Abbey of Bellefontaine, near Cholet, (Maine et Loire), were stolen from the church, in which they had been exposed, on a festival day. It is supposed, that this sacrilegious act took place, in 1826; but, it is probable, that the authentication of these relics, by M. Rocourt, is yet preserved in the Abbey.†

There are notices of various other relics of St. Bernard and of St. Malachy. The two Benedictines, who visited Clairvaux, in the beginning of the last century, tell us, that they were honoured by being allowed to celebrate mass, on the tombs of St. Bernard and of St. Malachy; whilst, at the same time, they used the respective chalices of both those Saints. Both of these chalices were so small, that they were only six inches in height, the cups of both, however, were very wide, although of no great depth. Besides these, there was shown, amongst other treasures of the Church, a chalice of very extraordinary shape, which, it was reported, had been used by St. Malachy. In shape and size, it nearly resembled the chalices then in use; but, in the circumstance of having had four small bells of silver attached to the cup, and in some other respects, it altogether differed in appearance, from the chalice of St. Malachy, shown in the sacristy, and which had

* The history of la Trappe of la Val-Sainte, near Fribourg, in Switzerland, has been printed, in two volumes 4to, and is entitled, *Règlements de la Maison-Dieu N. D. de la Trappe de la Val-Sainte. Fribourg.* 1792 or 1793.

† See, *M. Guignard's Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Académie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux. Appendice. No.* 4. *Recherches sur les Reliques enlevées à Clairvaux en* 1790 *et* 1791. *col.* 1719 to 1722. and *nn. Ibid. Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.*

been allowed to strangers, who wished to satisfy their devotion, towards the Saint, by using it during the celebration of Mass. This chalice, with the small bells attached, appeared an *unique* object of art, to the Benedictines.*

Méglinger says, that at the Abbey of Longuay, he was shown the mitre of St. Malachy, archbishop of Ireland, whose great sanctity conferred a value on the relic, which it would not otherwise possess. It was ornamented with small thin plates of gold, attached to red silk.† A writer, in *Annales archeologiques*, says, that in the Cathedral of Châlons-sur-Marne, a mitre of St. Malachy was preserved. This mitre bears certain ornaments in its tissue, which are compared to a mortuary cloth, engraved on a tomb, and which seems spread over with *quatre feuilles* and *medaillons*, on which were alternately represented lions rampant and eagles flying.‡ The Chartreuse of Valbonne, in the diocese of Nismes, possessed a sandal of St. Malachy, which had been received from the Bishop of Châlons. The relics, in his possession, were originally derived from Clairvaux.§

There are extant various decrees of General Chapters of the Cistercian Order, relative to the feasts of St. Bernard and of St. Malachy.|| These serve to show the great veneration, in which both illus-

* See, *Voyage Litteraire de deux religieux Benedictins. Ire Partie. pp.* 99, 104.

† "Monstrabant subinde mitram Sancti Malachiæ archiepiscopi Hiberniæ (de quo infra pluribus) cui maximum fecit pretium celeberrima viri sanctimonia; nam breves rubicundam bombycem ornantes ex auro lamellæ haud magni æstimantur." *Epistola Familiaris de Itinere ad Comitia Generalia S. Ordinis Cisterciencis.* § 49. *col.* 1597. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.*

‡ See, *Tome III. p.* 286.

§ The foregoing information, M. Guignard obtained, from the Bishop, in a letter, dated the 26th of December, 1854, from which the following extracts are submitted:

"C'est de Clairvaux que me sont venues [les reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie que je possède], et ç'a été par l'entremise de M. l'abbé Becquey, vicaire général, qui les avoit obtenues du dernier Abbé . . . Celles dont M. Becquey fut dépositaire, et qu'il obtint sur la demande qu'il en fit, consistent en une partie assez considérable de la natte sur laquelle S. Bernard est mort, et en une mitre de S. Malachie, bien authentique et scellée du cachet de l'Abbé de Clairvaux. J'avois reçu par la même voie deux sandales (cuir doré) de S. Malachie. Je crus pouvoir en donner une à la Chartreuse de Val-bonne; l'autre m'a été soustraite par je ne sais qui, et je l'ai fort regrettée.

"C'est, Monsieur, tout ce que je puis dire sur ces objects précieux, qui seront remis après moi entre les mains de notre Chapitre, et qui sont destinés a notre église quoiqu'en me les donnant, M. Becquey n'y ait mis aucune condition.

"† M. J. Evêque de Châlons."

|| The reader is referred to the MS. XV. of M. l'abbé Matthieu, p. 391, where it is said, that at Paris, 20th of May, 1852, indulgences were perpetually accorded, by the Cardinal William d'Estouteville, Legate of the Holy See, in France, to all the faithful, who, truly penitent and confessing their sins, shall aid in the reparation of the church of Clairvaux, which in its structures, erections, books and other ecclesiastical ornaments had become injured, ruinous, defective, &c. and, also, to those visiting the church, on the day of the Feast of the Assumption, of St. Bernard, of St. Malachy, of St. Eutropius, of St. Andrew the Apostle, and on the day of All Saints.

"Voir dans le *Thes. nov. anecd.* tom. IV. les statuts des Chapitres généraux de l'Ordre de Cisteaux relatifs à la fête de ces deux Saints—1120, No. 24.—1260, No. 4.—1238, No. 2.—1295, No. 1.—1321, No. 2.—1234, No. 5.—1321, No. 3.—1274, No. 34.—1323, No. 1.—1273, No. 17.—1191, No. 21,—1250, No. 2." See, *M. Guig-*

trious men were held, in that Abbey, when they had departed to the bliss of immortality, and which had been sanctified, by their presence, before they were removed from this life. On some of the seals of the Abbots of Clairvaux, the figure of St. Malachy was represented, as well as the representation of the founder of that Abbey.*

From a copy † of the Inventory of the Sacristy of Clairvaux, the original of which was drawn up, on the 15th day of December, 1504, amongst other relics and shrines possessed by the church, we find a notice of a reliquary of St. Malachy. This object of art appears to have been a case of silver, in which the arm of our Saint had been kept. John de Aizanville had it manufactured, from seven and a half *marcs* of silver; it was ornamented with precious stones, and had a ring attached, which was confined by a chain of silver.‡

In the archives of Aube, the original Inventory of the Sacristy of Clairvaux, drawn up on the 14th of May, 1640, is yet extant. It is bound, in a dark coloured leather cover, and it is imperfect, as some of its leaves are wanting. Amongst the relics appertaining to our Saint, as there enumerated, is a reliquary which is said to have been made, in the time of Guido, the Tenth Abbot of Clairvaux § What particular relic of St. Malachy had been enclosed therein, I have been unable to ascertain. Another rich reliquary is mentioned, in which also, some relics of our Saint had been inserted.|| Besides the foregoing, there is a notice of a silver arm, in which a bone of St. Malachy's arm was contained. This reliquary, at its lower extremity, and near the hand, has a border of precious stones and of silver chased images. There are two rings, on two fingers of the hand; the smaller one of which is of iron, with a stone in the middle, the larger ring is

nard's Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Académie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux. Appendice, No. 7. Sacra lipsana Sancti Bernardi et Sancti Malachiæ. § I. II. col. 1725 *to* 1728. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi, Vol. IV.*

* § IV. *col.* 1743, 1744. *Ibid.*

† This copy was transcribed during the last century, and is preserved amongst the archives of Aube.

‡ The following is the notice of this relic: "Est brachium Beati Malachiæ argenteum: quod fecit fieri idem Dominus Johannes de Aizanvilla ex VII. marcis et dimidia argenti, cum lapidibus preciosis et annulo incatenato catena argentea." *Fol. II. Ro.*

§ Fo. 6, Ro. En la quatriesme armaire cottée D, est premierement un coffre couvert de feuilles d'argent doré, lequel est supporté de quatre pattes de cuivre; au dessoubs du couvercle il y a deux rangées de reliques avec leur noms qui sont gravés dessus; en la plus haulte rangèe sont ces reliques, sçavoir: . . . . . *S. Malachiæ episcopi* . . . . . Ce reliquaire a estè faict du temps de dom Guido Xe Abbé de Clairvaux."

|| I find the reliquary thus described; "Une table d'argent doré ornée de perles et de pierreries, appellée la *Table d'Almaricus* (la Table d'Aumaury). Au milieu est une assé grand croix artificiellement élabourée, contenant une portion de la vraye croix de N. S.. .Aux quatre coings de la croix, il y a quatre quadres couverts de chrystals, soubs lesquels sont divers reliques. Au quatriesme crystal qui est en bas il y a des reliques *de S. Malachia* et *de S. Bernardo.* La portion du bois sacré qui est au milieu de la table a esté envoyée à Clairvaulx par Almaricus, roy de Hiérusalem... Il y a une table de parchemin faicte selon la forme de ce reliquaire où est déclaré comme Almaricus envoya cette partie de la vraye croix a l'instance de S. Bernard qui luy apparut."

of silver, and contains three precious stones. On the back of the hand, a figure of the Virgin is represented, in chased silver.* This is evidently the reliquary mentioned, in the more antient Inventory. There was also a reliquary, in the shape of a goblet, and formed of a large sized nutshell, having three bands of silver affixed. On the lower part, which is of silver gilt, *Guido* is carved, and on the handle is inscribed *Ego sitio.* The glass cover has represented on it a silver gilt circle, on which is inscribed, *De pulvere capitis B. Malachiæ primatis Hiberniæ.*† There was another reliquary of silver also, in the shape of a tower, containing decomposed particles or dust belonging to the head of our Saint. On the handle were six roses sculptured, and a small cross on the top, whilst six windows were encased, in as many silver-gilt bands. Within this object of art were inscribed the words, *De pulvere Capitis B. Malachiæ archiepiscopi et primatis totius Hiberniæ.*‡ A cope of red velvet and cloth of gold we find numbered, amongst the ornaments of the church; on these, the figure of St. Malachy was embroidered.§ Another small shrine of gilt copper contained relics of St. Malachy.‖ In fine, we have an account of the altar of the chapel of Aizanville, which was consecrated, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of Saints Bernard and Malachy;¶ besides, a separate notice of an altar dedicated to St. Malachy,** is contained on a loose sheet, the writing on which is of the sixteenth century. It is kept amongst the archives of Aube.††

It remains to be observed, that the former venerable Abbey of Clairvaux has been entirely destroyed, and that the large enclosure is only extant, at present, to bear testimony to its fallen glories. By a decree,

* "Fo. 18, Ro.—Un bras d'argent ou est un os du bras de Saint Malachie, archevesque et primat de toute l'Hibernie; au bas et auprès de la main est une bordure de pierreries et d'images d'argent esmaillé. En deux doigts de la main il y a deux anneaux, dont le plus petit n'est que d'airain et a une pierre au milieu; le plus grand est d'argent et a trois pierres. Au dos de la main est la Vierge en argent esmaillé."

† "Fo. 19. Vo.—Un reliquiaire en façon de gobelet, faict d'une grosse noix, tenue de trois bandes d'argent. Sur le pied, qui est d'argent doré, est escript: *Guido*, et sur la poignée est en esmail: *Ego sitio.* La couverture de verre a un cercle d'argent doré; il y a ycellui: *De pulvere capitis B. Malachiæ primatis Hiberniæ.*"

‡ "Fo 20. Ro.—Un reliquiaire d'argent, en forme de tour. En la poignée sont six roses en esmail, et en hault une petite croix, et six fenestres tenues de six bandes d'argent doré. Au dedans, il y a: *De pulvere Capitis B. Malachiæ, archiepiscopi et primatis totius Hiberniæ.*"

§ "Une chappe de drap d'or fin façonné de velours rouge; l'orphroy en broderie d'or et de soye a S. Bernard tenant l'église de Clairvaulx, S. Robert, S. Benoist, S. Malachie . . . . . Sur le chapperon est un *Monstra te esse matrem.*" *Fo. 58, Ro.*

‖ "Une petite châsse de cuivre doré fermante à deux ventillons: au dessus, l'on voit quatre ronds; l'un devant, l'autre en derrier, et les deux aultres aux deux costés. Celui qui est au-devant est couvert d'un petit chrystal, souls lequel sont les reliques . . . . . *S. Malachiæ* . . . . . Tout au hault se met une pyramide qui a une croix, sur laquelle est un crucifix en bosse." *Fo. 81. Vo.*

¶ "Altare sacelli de Aizanvilla, consecratum in honorem B. M. et BB. Bernardi et Malachie."

** "Altare B. Malachie."

†† See, *Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Academie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux. Par Ph. Guignard. Appendice. No.* 17. *Extraits des inventaires de Clairvaux relatifs á Saint Bernardi et a Saint Malachie col.* 1787 to 1798. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.*

dated 16th of June, 1808, the French government acquired possession of the Abbey. It was afterwards erected into a penitentiary, in which criminals were confined. In 1843, the former granaries and cellars of the monks were converted into refectories, for the convicts.* In 1846, M. Guignard saw a good picture, in black and white colours, representing St. Malachy, in the habit of a monk, with a mitre on his head, whilst he seemed reclining on his cross. Angels were represented, casting flowers on him. This painting was in the convict's Chapel, at Clairvaux.†

If the venerable parent institution of Clairvaux has no longer an existence in France, and, at present, only lives in the history of the past; it has, nevertheless, procured for our Island, in times gone by, the establishment of a number of Cistercian houses, which the ruthless hand of the spoiler levelled with the soil beneath, or left in crumbling ruins, to attest inadequately, their former extent and magnificence.‡

These mediæval erections have in great part disappeared ; and the Cistercian institute had no living members to represent the Order in Ireland, for a long lapse of years, subsequent to their dissolution. It was reserved for the century, in which we live, to date the arrival of this religious community, in our midst. The Monastery of Mount Melleray, near Cappoquin, county of Waterford, was founded more than twenty years ago, on a wild mountain site, which appeared to present almost insuperable obstacles to successful culture. Since that period, however, the wilderness has bloomed like a garden, and the grain of mustard seed then planted has sent forth its branches, which have extended to remote parts of the world. A numerous and fervent community has been congregated, under the spiritual direction of saintly Abbots; and the blessings of Heaven have descended, in abundance, not only on the population of the surrounding neighbourhood, but on pious pilgrims, from the most distant parts of our Island, who have sought a temporary retreat within those hallowed cloisters, where the distractions and cares of this life rarely intrude, or become altogether unheeded, when they are superseded by that wise solicitude, which refers to the soul's eternal interests. To our illustrious Saint may be attributed, in a great measure, the first establishment of the

* *Arnaud's Voyage Archéologique dans le Departement de l'Aube. p.* 229. *Troyes,* 1843.

† See, *Lettre a M. le Comte de Montalembert, de l'Académie Française, sur les Reliques de S. Bernard et de S. Malachie, et sur le premier emplacement de Clairvaux.* §. *IV. col.* 1713, 1714. *Appendice. No.* 16. *col.* 1787, 1788. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Tomus CLXXXV. Opera Omnia S. Bernardi. Vol. IV.*

‡ In *Harris' Ware. Vol. II. Antiquities of Ireland, chap. XXXVIII. pp.* 274 to 276, there are no less than forty-one Cistercian Abbeys, for monks of this institute, enumerated, and situated in twenty-one of the present thirty-two Irish counties. There are likewise two Nunneries for Cistercian nuns mentioned ; one of which was situated at Down, in the county of the same name, and the other is placed at Londonderry, in the county so called. The latter is said to have been erected by Turlogh Leinigh O'Neill, in 1218. For further details, regarding the places where the foregoing institutions were erected, and the titles under which these houses were dedicated, as also respecting their several founders, grantees, assignees, with the date of their erection, &c., the reader is referred to the work already mentioned. There is a MS., in Trinity College Library, classed, F. 4. 30., which contains a tract, headed, " 10. Anni fundationis Cænobiorum Cisterc." *fol.* 114.

Cistercian institute, in Ireland; and, as the soil had proved congenial to its former extension throughout our Isle, so may we hope, it will continue to flourish vigorously, during ages to come, and that no rude shock will henceforth assail its present or any future foundation. The memory of St. Malachy must ever live, in conjunction with that of St. Bernard, in the heart of every Irish Cistercian; for, whilst the great founder of this institute must be held in especial veneration by the mortified and pious Trappist, gratitude and Christian patriotism, will find an abiding place in his breast, when invoking the name of his holy patron and countryman. And, would it be unreasonable to consider, that to the merits of St. Malachy, in the sight of God, may be owing the circumstance of that religious order still existing in our land, which he so dearly loved, and so zealously fostered, during his administration of the affairs of our national church? Why should the Almighty suffer that to decay, which had been established, in the first instance, by his glorified servant, and doubtless through Divine inspiration? Faith might yield a reasonable assent to these queries and suggestions; and if we incline to their affirmation, the designs of Providence will be intelligible to the mind of a true Christian, however inscrutable they may be. It pleased God to prosper the efforts and institutions of Malachy, during his lifetime; and, the memorials of his enterprises yet survive the lapse of ages, descending to us as a national inheritance, demanding still further claims on our gratitude. The numberless benefits, he has procured for our country and its inhabitants, can hardly be estimated, even by the record of his acts, which has come down to our day. Having laboured and prayed for their spiritual welfare, whilst awaiting the measure of his rewards in Heaven; this crown having been attained, his intercession and his solicitude, before the throne of Divine Grace, continue to be exercised, in behalf of his faithful clients, who venerate his name and memory. The people of this country have ever cherished the fond recollection of both, and hence may entertain the hope of innumerable blessings being conferred on them, by the Almighty, through the ceaseless patronage of their great national Saint.

CHAPTER XX.

Churches or Chapels formerly dedicated to St. Malachy, within the limits of the Diocese of Down.—Existing Irish erections, in honor of the holy Prelate.—The convent of St. Malachy, at Dundalk, in the Archdiocese of Armagh.—Church of St. Malachy, at Coleraine, in the diocese of Connor.—Cathedral Church and Diocesan Seminary of St. Malachy, at Belfast, in the diocese of Down.—Churches dedicated to our Saint, in the United States.—Various commemorative memorials of the holy Prelate, in different Catholic Institutions of Ireland.—Conclusion.

Besides those ecclesiastical structures, erected by the saint himself, during the period of his various ministrations, in the several dioceses of Armagh, Down and Connor, there are notices in mediæval records of

some churches or chapels, which were either erected by or dedicated to him, within the limits of the diocese of Down, of which he was the acknowledged patron. At the commencement of the fourteenth century, we find, that in the diocese of Down, there was a chapel of St. Malachy, the exact situation of which cannot now be identified. In John De Courcy's grant to the Bishop of Down, "tota terra Sancti Malachie" is one of the items named; and, this tract of land may possibly have reference to the chapel, in question.* About the commencement of the fourteenth century, there was a chapel, dedicated to St. Malachy, which was located on the church land of Crumlin,† near Hillsborough, within the limits of the county and diocese of Down. This chapel appears to have been formerly a dependency, on the church or parish of Drumbo.‡ The old building occupied a part of the present pleasure grounds of Hillsborough Demesne. The spot, where the cemetery lay, was indicated by the remarkable storm, that occurred on the night of the 6th of January, 1839. On this occasion, an aged willow-tree was torn from its roots, amongst which, several human bones were found exposed, the fibres having insinuated themselves through these relics of mortality.§ The prebend or free chapel of St. Malachy at Lismolyn or Lismullen is said to have been annexed, to the church of Kylcleth, by Henry Fox, Archdeacon of Down, some time after the middle of the fifteenth century.‖ No remains of this chapel can be seen, at present, although there are some interesting records extant, appertaining to it, and to its incumbents, relating to the middle ages.¶ Lismullen is now called Bishop's Court, probably, because the Bishop of Down had antiently a residence there, and it is still the property of the Protestant see of Down. Bishop's Court is a townland, in Dunsfort parish.**

In addition to the foregoing list, the chapel of Ballyculter, appended

* In the Ecclesiastical Taxation of the diocese of Down, compiled in the year 1306, this Capella Sci Malachie, is rated at 8 shillings, the tenth being set down, at 9¾d. See, *Rev. Wm. Reeves' Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore. pp.* 42, 43, and *n.* (q.) *Ibid.* In an instrument, issued at Westminster, in the seventh year of James I., July 20th, 1609, this chapel of St. Malachy is enumerated amongst the livings, conferred on John Blackborne, the Protestant Archdeacon of the diocese of Down. See, *Appendix.* A. *p.* 178. *Ibid.*

† The original Irish name of this place was cpuim ɡleann, 'crooked glen.' Crumlin denomination has now been changed to that of Hillsborough, according to the division of the Established Church. See, *Ordnance Survey Maps of the County Down, sheets* 14, 21.

‡ In the Ecclesiastical Taxation of the diocese of Down, made in the year 1306, the Ecclesia de Drumboo cum capella is rated, at 3 marks, the tenth being 4 shillings. *Rev. Wm. Reeves' Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore. pp.* 44, 45.

§ The site of the old chapel of St. Malachy had been changed, in 1662, in which year the new Protestant church was consecrated. See, *Harris' Antient and Present state of the county of Down, pp.* 96, 270. In *Archdall's Lodge's Peerage of Ireland. Vol.* II. *p.* 325, it is stated, but incorrectly, that the site of the old chapel was changed, in 1636.

‖ Registry of Prene. p. 98, as quoted by the Rev. Wm. Reeves, in his *Ecclesiastical Antiquites of Down, Connor, and Dromore, n.* (a.) *p.* 37.

¶ The antient Irish name of this locality seems to have been lior Maolain 'Moelan's fort.' *Ibid.*

** See, *Ordnance Survey Maps of the County Down. Sheet,* 38.

to the church of Saul,* was dedicated to our Saint. The old chapel was built, behind the present Established Church School, on the opposite side of the road from where the church now stands ; and the field, in which it was situated, is still called Kill-Maleck, (i.e. according to my informant,) Malachy's church. In the grave yard of Saul, as I am informed, there is a small vault-like building with splayed side openings, popularly called " Malachy O'Morgair's Crypt ;" but, with what justice it is entitled to that name cannot be ascertained.† Yet the tradition is worthy of record.

I have not been able to discover any further accounts of antient churches or chapels, dedicated to our Saint, in that diocese, with the government of which he was charged, during the chief part of his episcopal ministrations.

The memory of St. Malachy O'Morgair has been honoured, by the erection of the following religious edifices, dedicated to him, within the present century. On the authority of the Most Rev. Dr. Dixon,‡ the writer is enabled to state, that the only religious structure, placed specially under his invocation, within the diocese of Armagh, is the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy, at Dundalk, county of Louth. I am indebted to the superioress of the convent, Sister M. de Sales Vigne, for the following interesting account of the origin, and present flourishing condition, of this institution.§

" Our convent was established in October, 1847, and was dedicated to our glorious national saint, Malachy. The P.P., Dr. Coyne, bought a large and commodious dwelling house, with a garden, for the Sisters, and built two large school rooms, to accommodate 400 children. Since then, the Sisters have built two other school rooms; one for an industrial school, the other, for the more respectable class of children, who only remain under the Sisters' care, until they make their first communion. The Sisters are at present building a church ; a gentleman of the town having enabled them to do so, by the munificent donation of £1,000. The ground, now belonging to the Sisters, was formerly occupied, by a community of Grey Friars. Part of the monastery is still to be seen, outside our garden wall. It was a gift of Cromwell, to one of his soldiers, and passed from various hands, until it was purchased by government, for an excise office. Dr. Coyne paid £1,800 for it, in 1847, for the use of our Sisters."

Within the limits of the diocese of Connor, the modern Catholic Church of Coleraine, in the county of Londonderry, was dedicated to

* See, *Rev. Wm. Reeves' Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore. p.* 41. and *n.* (m) *Ibid.*

† For the information contained in the text, I feel greatly indebted to John W. Hanna, Esq., Downpatrick. Dr. O'Donovan is of opinion, that Kil-Maleck does not mean Malachy's church, especially for the reason, that our Saint was always called Maelmaedhog by the antient Irish. However, it is possible, that the name bestowed by St. Bernard on our Saint might have been corrupted to the form Maleck by the old Irish or Anglo-Irish.

‡ In a communication, dated Drogheda, 7th. Feb. 1858.

§ The letter is addressed to the writer, and headed, " St. Malachi's Convent of our Lady of Mercy, Dundalk, 6th March, 1858."

our Saint.* The Rev. Alexander Mac Mullan, P.P., of this church, and the Parish to which it belongs, has obligingly forwarded the subsequent account, which comprises an extract from his letter,† addressed to the writer.

"The church of St. Malachy was built here, in 1837, whilst the Rev. John Greene was pastor, and on ground granted by the Hon. the Irish Society, through their agent, the famous John Claudius Beresford. I suspect, the church was dedicated to St. Malachy, because he is the patron saint of the diocese. There are no associations nor traditions, regarding the saint, to be found here, nor could these be expected, as the old population of the district was annihilated, and with them the recollection of the days of O'Morgair. This church is in the pointed style of architecture, which has been rendered so common of late years, in these countries. The plans are by the architect of the Irish Society."‡

The following account, taken from a local journal, presents us with further details, regarding the consecration of this church, which took place on Sunday, June 7th, 1840. We are told that it was consecrated to the true worship of God, under the invocation of St. Malachy, by the Right Rev. Cornelius Denvir, D.D., Bishop of Down and Connor, assisted by the Right Rev. John M'Loughlin, D.D., Bishop of Avarum, *in partibus infid.*, and coadjutor Prelate of Derry. "As soon as the necessary arrangements were completed, the procession moved from the sacristy to the southern portal of the vestibule, when, kneeling on the steps, the venerable ordinary commenced the solemn service of dedication, attended by the Rev. Daniel M'Garry, P.P., Ballymena, as Deacon, and the Rev. John Greene, P.P., Coleraine, as Sub-deacon. As the procession moved slowly round the eastern end and returned to

* For this piece of information, I feel indebted, in the first instance, to the Rev. James O'Laverty, of St. Malachy's Diocesan Seminary, Belfast, in a letter dated March 10th, 1858. This was only a portion of the very useful information contained in that letter, on the subject of our great Saint.

† Dated, Coleraine, June 25th, 1858.

‡ In addition to the information, afforded in the text, it may interest the reader, to have appended in the present note, the following *memoranda* referring to Coleraine, furnished by Mr. Hanna, of Downpatrick.

"This parish formed part of the Diocese of Connor, at the period of Pope Nicholas's Taxation. About 1780, the Right Rev. Hugh M'Mullan, Bishop of Down and Connor, in consequence of a paucity of clergymen, at an interview with Dr. M'Devitt, then Bishop of Derry, authorised his clergy in Killowen, to attend to Coleraine. Matters so remained until 1834, when Dr. Crolly, Bishop of Down and Connor, in the exercise of his authority, appointed the Rev. John Greene, P.P. Against this appointment Dr. M'Loughlin, Bishop of Derry protested, as illegal and uncanonical; in consequence of which, his Holiness Gregory XVI. directed the Most Rev. Dr. Kelly, Archbishop of Armagh, to investigate the subject, and inquire into Dr. Crolly's title, which he accordingly did, October, 1834, assisted by the Right Rev. Dr. Higgins, Bishop of Ardagh, on the part of Dr. Crolly, and the Right Rev. James Brown, on the part of Dr. M'Loughlin. The investigation lasted several days, and Dr. Kelly having made his Report to the Propaganda, his Holiness Gregory XVI. in February, 1835, issued a Rescript, whereby the Parish Coleraine, and the other Parishes, within the Liberties of Coleraine, in the ounty Antrim, were restored and united to the Diocese of Connor.

"Shortly after this Mr. Greene commenced building a new chapel, in Coleraine, and collected subscriptions throughout England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland."

the vestibule, passing the northern door of the tower, the deep, solemn, plaintive chaunt of the "Miserere mei Deus" fell in chastened melody on the concourse assembled within the edifice, and indicated the feeling of humility breathed in that Psalm of penitence, and without which man's offering sends no incense to heaven. There were also present the Rev. Peter M'Mullan, P.P., Rasharkin; the Rev. John M'Kenna, P.P., Maghera; the Rev. Edward Kelly, P.P., Errigal; the Rev. Luke Walsh, P.P., Culfeightrin; the Rev. Henry M'Laughlin, P.P., Loughgiel; the Rev. John Fitzsimon, P.P., Layde; and the Rev. W. M'Cartan, P.P., Ballymoney. When the ceremony of consecration was concluded, the mass for the feast of Pentecost was commenced by the Pastor of the new church, assisted by the Rev. Messrs. M'Garry, and M'Cartan. So soon as the Gospel was read, Dr. Denvir ascended the pulpit, and during an hour the most marked attention was given by the large and respectable audience, to a discourse highly appropriate to the cheering solemnity; it was replete with copious illustrations from the sacred record and from profane history, and delivered with the usual clear, impressive, and convincing manner of that learned Prelate. E. Fletcher, Esq., J.P., D.L., John Boyd, Esq., J.P., Robert Sharpe, Daniel Given, and James Canning, Esqrs., acted as collectors. The proceeds of the day amounted to upwards of £57. At the proper intervals, selections from the sacred music of the Catholic Church were sung by an effective choir, under the direction of Mr. Harkin, professor of music. In the evening, a large and respectable party of gentlemen were entertained at dinner, by the parish Priest."

Within the great commercial town of Belfast, in the diocese of Down, a spacious and elegant church has been built, and dedicated to St. Malachy, by the Right Rev. Dr. Denvir, in the month of December, 1844. The dedication sermon was preached by the Right Rev. Dr. Kennedy, Bishop of Killaloe, and the collection taken on the occasion amounted to £1,100.

The architect of this Church was Thomas Jackson, Esq., of Belfast. The Church is built in the style of the Tudor period, somewhat modified to suit the requirements of the building committee. There are extensive galleries, erected inside the sacred edifice, with the view of accommodating a large congregation, within a limited space. The church is 112 feet in length, by 50 feet in width, within the walls; irrespective of considerable projections, at the front, rear, and on each side, containing entrances, stair-cases, sacristy, &c. All of these projections are flanked by octagonal Towers. The turrets, in front, are 75 feet above the surface walls of the church. The elevation is about 50 feet to the top of the parapet, which surmounts the walls of the building. The church is built of brick; all the doors and windows having cut stone dressings, as well as the parapets, gables, towers, &c. The stucco work of the ceiling, on the interior, is very elaborate. The stairs are of solid oak, and spacious. The cost of erection was about £10,000. The cut stone work, and the several details of the building, are most creditable to the respective contractors, all of whom belonged to Belfast.* Few churches in Ireland can accommodate more persons,

* For most of the foregoing particulars, I am indebted to Mr. Jackson, the Archi-

than the Cathedral of St. Malachy O'Morgair, which is situated in the southern part of the town, immediately adjoining Joy-street. It is cruciform in shape; and its dimensions, position, beautiful proportions, &c., render this church an imposing and excellent structure.* This building is the most interesting of all existing memorials, in Ireland, dedicated to the memory of our great national Saint. An engraving of this church will be found, in Battersby's Catholic Directory, for the year 1844.

The Catholic Diocesan Seminary of St. Malachy is another institution, placed under the patronage of our Saint, and beautifully situated, on a rising ground, in the immediate vicinity of Belfast. It is erected on a farm, purchased by the Catholics of the Diocese. The course of instruction, afforded in this establishment, embraces Latin, Greek, French, English History, Literature and Composition, Drawing, Music, with the various branches of a Mercantile and Mathematical education. For experiments in Natural Philosophy, the seminary has an apparatus, superior to most colleges, in Ireland.† This seminary is under the immediate patronage and inspection of the Bishop of the Diocese, in which it is situated; and the educational department is under the direction of a competent staff of Teachers. The charges for boarding and tuition, at this establishment, are unusually moderate; owing chiefly to the circumstances, that a valuable farm of land has been purchased, and the necessary buildings erected, by public subscription. The boarding-house is apart from the class-rooms, which are built in the town, adjoining one of the chapels.

In the parish of Downpatrick, there is, at present, a chapel of ease, dedicated to our Saint, and known as the chapel of Ballykilbeg. Mr. Hanna of Downpatrick, to whom I am indebted for all the information I have received concerning it, remarks, that formerly Ballykilbeg was an independent chapelry in itself, under the name of "Wytiketona," according to Dr. Reeves,‡ whilst my correspondent's own impression is, that it was the church of Kilbulk.§ On the site of the old chapel of Ballykilbeg, a modern one was erected, about the year 1745, which was rebuilt and solemnly dedicated to God, Oct. 29th, 1837, under the invocation of St. Malachy, by the Right Rev. Dr. Denvir, the most Rev. Dr. Crolly, Archbishop of Armagh, preaching on the occasion. It has been recently very elegantly fitted out, under the auspices of the Very Rev. Dr. M'Auley, V.G. and P.P. of Down, and by his curates,

tect, in a communication, dated, Belfast, No. 16, Donegall Place, 5th March, 1859. Want of time would only permit him to furnish the chief details, in a hurried outline, which he states, to have been jotted down, only from memory.

* The only visit made to Belfast, by the writer, in June, 1857, was necessarily of so brief a duration, that, even, if competent for the task, time would not permit a minute examination of the architectural details and dimensions of this splendid building, for the purposes of correct and minute description.

† For the foregoing particulars, I am under obligations to the Rev. James O'Laverty, the present Dean of this College, who has informed me, in a letter, dated March 10th, 1858, that there were, at that time, nearly seventy boys in attendance.

‡ See, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore*, *pp.* 30, 31, and *n.* (k.) *Ibid.*

§ See, *pp.* 28, 29, and *n.* (f.) *Ibid.*, where the Rev. Mr. Reeves says, that the exact position of the church of Kilbulk was unknown to him.

the Rev. P. O'Kane and the Rev. P. McConvey. The ground floor contains seats, and the altar is painted in imitation of the most beautiful native and foreign marbles.

In distant countries, the celebrity of St. Malachy has caused churches to be erected, in his honour. Thus, in the United States of America, within the diocese and city of Philadelphia, a very commodious church is dedicated to him, and situated on Eleventh-street, above Masters'-street. I regret not being able to obtain the descriptive architectural details of this building; nor have I within reach the *date*, regarding its foundation. However, it is attended by a numerous congregation of emigrant Irish and their descendants. In the diocese of Boston, at Hopkinton, in the state of Massachusetts, we also find a church, erected under the invocation of our Saint. Also, in the diocese of Milwaukee, near Neenah, (Nenagh?) in Winnebago county, state of Wisconsin, there is a church, dedicated to St. Malachy.*

In the *Univers* of the 20th of December, 1854, it is stated that on the 5th of the preceding month of November, which fell on Sunday, a new church had been consecrated, under the invocation of St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, in the twelfth century. This church had been erected at Morrow, in the county of Warren, State of Ohio. It is under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Cincinnati, and within the limits of that Archdiocese, in the United States of America.

On Sunday evening, the 24th of October, 1858, the corner stone of a new church, dedicated to St. Malachy O'Morgair, was laid under circumstances of unusual *eclat* and solemnity, on the corner of Clark and Summit avenues,† within the city of St. Louis, U. S. of America. The most Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis, accompanied by the Rev. P. J. Ryan, Rector of the Cathedral, arrived on the ground, at about half-past three o'clock, in the carriage of his Grace. The Irish and German Societies, with scarfs of red and green, with splendid banners waving in the breeze, and their fine bands playing appropriate tunes, enlivened and beautified the scene. A great number of clergymen, and an immense concourse of persons, attended as participators in the ceremonies, or as highly delighted and interested spectators. The procession, formed at a neighboring house, proceeded, amidst the singing of canticles, to the large cross, planted on the spot for the future altar. Though the crowd was immense, and all anxious to witness the ceremonies, the best order prevailed throughout—the members of the societies joining hands, and forming a convenient avenue for the sacred ministers to pass. The Most Rev. Archbishop then blessed the corner stone, and placed it in the foundation. In it was a hermetically sealed box, containing the customary articles, dates, names, and the first

* The foregoing list of churches, erected to our great Irish Saint, is taken from the United States' *Catholic Almanack* for 1854. (See, *pp.* 79, 195, 208.) The writer has no doubt, that the latest issue of the Annual referred to would present an addition to the foregoing list of St. Malachy's churches or chapels, in the great western republic. It must be observed, that those mentioned were erected in, or previous to, the year 1853.

† From a former personal observation and knowledge of the locality, the present writer is able to pronounce, that no more delightful site could be selected, within the city. The spot is elevated, as the name of one of the adjoining streets indicates, and improvements are rapidly extending in that direction.

number of the Western Banner.* After laying the corner stone, the Archbishop and clergy, in procession, made a circuit of the foundations, pausing at intervals and repeating prayers and hymns. After the ceremony, the Rev. P. J. Ryan ascended the temporary pulpit, erected near the site of the Corner Stone, and preached a most elequent sermon, suitable to the occasion. After alluding to the mystic meaning of the rite performed, in a series of vivid pictures, this highly gifted young clergyman sketched the Life and labours of St. Malachy O'Morgair. He concluded, by earnestly urging the assemblage present, to aid the Rev. Mr. O'Sullivan, the appointed pastor of the Church, about to be erected, by their subscriptions, in order to perfect the good work, that having built a house for God upon earth, they might expect to be received hereafter into his heavenly tabernacles. The architect of this newly-designed church is a Mr. Brady, and the following are the purposed details of the future structure, which, it is hoped, will be satisfactorily completed within a short time. The style adopted for the building is Gothic, of the period of Henry VII., King of England. The main entrance is on Clark avenue, with a flank elevation stretching on Summit avenue. The extreme length, from the south wall of the sacristy to the front line of the most northern buttress of the main tower, measures 121 feet, by a width, in the body of the church, of 53 feet, and from the extreme line of buttresses in front, 60 feet. The church will be divided into aisles and nave. The aisles will be 32 feet high, and the nave 43 feet high, in the clear. Clustered columns of cast iron will support the arches, dividing the aisles and nave. The side walls will be pierced by twelve windows, and the ends by two large windows, the heads of which will be filled with tracery. The ceiling of the nave will be groined, and elaborately finished, with rib mouldings, braces, brackets, pendants, &c., &c.—forming, with heavily moulded arches on the sides, the rich and varied altar screens, the massive sanctuary railing, and the varied lights coming through the stained glass of the south window, a good specimen of the Gothic architecture of the period mentioned. Above the corner stone, a graceful and ornamental tower will rise, reaching 130 feet, and in accordance with the style of the building.

In addition to the material ecclesiastical monuments, dedicated to our Saint, in Ireland and in distant countries, we have reason to feel gratified, at the institution of moral and—on that account—not less enduring memorials of the holy Prelate. The Irish Catholic University may be said, in an especial manner, to have been placed under his powerful patronage; for to Friday, November 3rd (St. Malachy's day) 1854, this great national institute dates its first opening and organization. The first day of commencement was inaugurated, with appropriate pomp and solemnity, and will be noted henceforth in the annals of our national church and Catholic educational endowments, as marking an era of religious, literary and social progress, the influences of which will be deeply and indelibly impressed, on all ranks and classes of the Irish people. This feast day of St. Malachy had been happily chosen,

* The local Catholic Journal from which most of the present details are extracted.

by the Prelates of our Church, for the opening of the Catholic University; because, no more appropriate patron could be selected, than he, who had rendered such signal services to religion in Ireland, during his life time, and whose fame has been extended amongst the people of all nations. He, who during his career upon earth, fostered incorruptible faith, solid learning, religious discipline and pure morals, amongst the clergy and laity of our Island, will not cease to extend and perpetuate those priceless treasures, in the land of his birth, through his powerful intercession. Since the date of its first opening, the yearly session of the Irish Catholic University commences on St. Malachy's festival, November 3rd, and closes on the 22nd of July.

The Malachean Orphan Charity, Parliament-street, Dublin, which supports 70 orphans, was founded in the year 1822, and placed under the patronage of our Saint. An annual sermon is preached, on Sunday within the Octave of the Ascension, the proceeds, derived therefrom, being devoted to the support of this institution.

In the Metropolitan Cathedral, Marlborough-street, Dublin, amongst other beautiful fresco paintings of the more celebrated saints of Ireland, the full length portrait of our Saint may be seen, and of more than life size. A similar memorial of St. Malachy adorns the walls of the very beautiful chapel of the Irish Catholic University; and, doubtless, there are many other commemorative representations of this great Prelate, within the churches, chapels, convents and various religious institutions, founded in Ireland and in distant countries, of which no record has been hitherto published.*

The virtues of the servants of God are worthy of record, not so much for the glory they have shed upon religion, as for the lessons furnished by them to all persons, whether to such as are faithful to the inspiration of Divine Grace or to sinners. Instances are presented, in all their glorious actions, of the manner in which the former class of persons might profit by examples of perfection, in various degrees, and as exemplified on different occasions. To the latter class, practices of an exalted kind are presented, which must command respect and admiration, however slow sinners may be to avail themselves of the teaching and impulses of nature in her brighter living examples, directed by the operations of Divine Grace. The condition and circumstances of different holy servants of God may be far removed from ours, in many respects; yet, there are always certain particulars in the life of a true Christian, which must apply to all those, who aspire to the same exalted character. The like opportunities may

* In a letter, received by the Rev. James Graves, from Mr. Albert Way, and dated, Venice, April 26th, 1858, we are told, that the writer remarked "amongst the fresco paintings which cover the walls of the beautiful conventual Church of Chiaravalle, the first Cistercian foundation in Italy, a painting of St. Malachy, with the legend :—

"S. Malachias Archieps. Armacani, ordinis Cisterciensis ;"—and over the figure ; —"Hinc diuitia, oratio Justi penetrat cœlos." This painting was not, however, earlier than the sixteenth century.

"He saw also a painting entitled "S. Cristinus Archieps. in Hibernia, Cisterciensis, as also one of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury,—works attributed to Fiamminghini." See, *Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society. Vol. II.—New Series. May,* 1858. *No.* 15. *pp.* 66, 67.

not be furnished to all persons, for exercising virtue in a similar manner; but, the practice of every virtue, at a proper time, and on a suitable occasion, is a duty devolving on all those who aim at perfection. How suggestive of good impulses, in the minds of the most impenitent sinners, are not the maxims and morals of the just! How conducive to a holy emulation, in these possessing the Grace of Almighty God, are not the living examples of his servants which pass in review before our eyes, or which live in our recollection, whilst the frail tenement of the body moulders in its kindred dust! Let us recollect the acts and virtues of the Saint, whose memory has already passed under our consideration, and we shall find ourselves possessed of a Christian knowledge, which his own moving exhortations, apart from his actions, would never be able to excite in the minds of his hearers. This is the kind of knowledge, "that maketh wise unto salvation," and that bears its fruit, when cast into the proper soil; but, which so often becomes unproductive, when it falls upon a barren, unfertilizing surface. The virtues of the Saint, whose actions are here recorded, should be as beacon lights, to guide us to the port of our rest, to illuminate our darkness, and to dispel the illusions under which we labour. As a pastor of that Church, whose founder is now his reward, we should take warning by his admonitions, receiving instruction from his counsels, and edification from his actions. Above all, we shall discover, how the union of prayer and heavenly contemplation may be perfectly compatible, with the most earnest exertion and laborious occupation; and, hence derive the consolation, that whilst engaged in the active duties and the indispensable labours of our state of life, we may be working out, also, the ends of Almighty God, in accomplishing the great work of our own salvation.

FINIS.

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BY THE REV. JOHN O'HANLON.

PROSPECTUS.

THE present LIFE OF ST. MALACHY O'MORGAIR and the LIFE OF ST. LAURENCE O'TOOLE, already published, are presented to the public as two of an extended series of LIVES OF THE IRISH SAINTS, in process of completion, and preparing for the Press. This series is intended to comprise the Acts of over 500 of our national Saints, which will include the Biography, Festival, or Commemoration, at least, of one saint, for each day of the year. It is intended to introduce every particular event, bearing on the subject of the life of each individual saint, in those memoirs, as found in authentic memorials or records, whether in accessible published Works or in MSS. Local traditions and existing monuments, relating to different saints, will serve to illustrate the lives and actions of these holy persons, and shall be duly adverted to, in the pages of the forthcoming Volumes.

The full and free access which the writer obtained to the MSS. and ancient Maps, belonging to the Irish Ordnance Survey Office, Phœnix Park, has enabled him, in many instances, to identify the modern names and exact position of Places, often mentioned in connection with the Lives of our national Saints, and with the events recorded in the pages of our early Ecclesiastical History. The public Libraries of Dublin and of other places, and even the private collections of various gentlemen, whose names are celebrated for their industry, learning, and research, on the subject of Irish History, Antiquities, and Topography, have afforded very important materials to the writer, during the prosecution of his laborious and voluminous Work. In instances, where ancient or modern churches have been founded, in honour of a particular Irish Saint, the circumstance will be duly recorded ; and, in order to render the Life of each saint as comprehensive and complete, as the materials and information furnished to the writer would allow, he has been careful to omit nothing of importance, that has not been judged inconsistent with sound Morals and Doctrine, or Christian edification. Thus, it is hoped, the intended series of Volumes on our national Hagiology, in scope and design, will furnish more complete and accurate information regarding the Saints of Ireland, than any publication which has yet appeared. The Lives of ST. MALACHY O'MORGAIR and of ST. LAURENCE O'TOOLE are issued as fair specimens of the matter and arrangement likely to be discovered in the Biographies of the more illustrious and celebrated Saints of our country, in the several Volumes of the work intended for publication, and which, for several years past, have employed those intervals of time, that remained to the writer, after the discharge of more urgent occupations and duties. Whilst the most critical supervision and anxious desire to arrive at accuracy have been exercised, both in the composition and correction of these Volumes, the writer will not presume to maintain that his statements are, in all instances, quite correct. But he can safely assert, that nothing, as a matter of fact, has been advanced throughout the Work, for which an exact historical reference is not presented to the reader : for individual deductions or opinions, the writer, of course, is responsible, wherever they occur. He has followed the statements of the many learned authorities consulted and cited, in the pages of the forthcoming Volumes, whenever he conceived them conformable to truth, or even in accordance with probability ; and he has never ventured to dissent, except in cases, where recent investigations and superior reasons afforded safe grounds for a contrary opinion.

The Work shall be preceded by an Introduction, in which the various sources and authorities, available and necessary for investigation, on the subject of Irish Hagiology will be indicated ; and, it shall be followed by a list of the different Authors, titles of published Works and Editions, and of the MSS. consulted and quoted, throughout the pages of the several Volumes. A complete Chronological Table, together with an original and a general Calendar of the Irish Saints, of their Festivals and Commemorations, will form a part of the design. A comprehensive Index of the Names of Persons, Places, and Subjects, contained in the work, with exact numeration, relating to the corresponding Volumes and Pages, will tend to facilitate reference and invite research ; especially as the Notes shall be carefully

discriminated from the Text, in its general arrangement. The Maps and Plates, with which it is intended to accompany the forthcoming Volumes, will tend to enhance their value, in a great degree, to the student of the Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities of Ireland. The Engravings will represent the remains of ancient monuments, in localities which are celebrated in connection with the Saints of Ireland, and will, in all instances, be reproduced from drawings taken on the spot; whilst the Civil and Ecclesiastical Boundaries shall be faithfully traced from the best authorities, and reduced to the graduated scale of the most recent and accurate copies of the Irish Ordnance Survey Maps. Every effort shall be made by the writer, to discover and place upon record, the particular Festival Days, and Patron Saints of the different Irish families, and of the various Churches, Parishes, and Dioceses throughout Ireland, and in more distant countries. And, as the design of the author includes in his Work the lives of Saints connected with our Island, by birth, residence, and death, it must be observed, that this publication will tend, incidentally, to illustrate the Hagiology and Church History of England, Scotland, Wales, and of many of the countries on the Continent of Europe.

During the interval that must be suffered to elapse between the issue of the present Prospectus and the publication of this Catholic and National Work, the author respectfully solicits the communication of important traditions and memorials of the Irish Saints, from the various localities, with which they were formerly connected. The reception of these he will gratefully acknowledge, as they might in many—if not in most—instances, serve to throw additional light upon obscure passages, in the Acts of our National Saints. Besides reproducing in an English dress the substance of what has been already published by Ussher, Ware, Colgan, the Bollandists, Lanigan, &c. many additional facts have been ascertained since their time, and many errors of these laborious, critical, and learned writers have been detected and refuted. The author has long been of opinion, that the LIVES OF THE IRISH SAINTS, produced in a complete, an impartial, and an accurate manner, would prove a most acceptable addition to the library of the clergyman, scholar, and gentleman. To the accomplishment of this task he has devoted his time and energies, full conscious of the many difficulties and discouragements that would be interposed, before its completion. He has also to regret, that a *desideratum* in Catholic and National Literature has been allowed to continue to the present time, and that it has not been supplied, even now, by some person more competent to undertake the labour than the writer. The mechanical execution of the Work shall not be disregarded; and, no effort shall be spared by the writer, in the endeavour to render it worthy of national patronage and general approbation.

Preparing for Publication.

THE LIFE OF SAINT PATRICK,

Apostle of Ireland.

BY THE REV. JOHN O'HANLON.

Published by the Author :—

THE IRISH EMIGRANT'S GUIDE FOR THE UNITED STATES.

BOSTON : PATRICK DONOHOE, 1851, 18mo.

THE LIFE OF ST. LAURENCE O'TOOLE,

ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, AND DELEGATE APOSTOLIC OF THE HOLY SEE FOR THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION, TO

HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. PAUL CULLEN, D.D.

ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, AND APOSTOLIC DELEGATE OF THE HOLY SEE FOR THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

DUBLIN : JOHN MULLANY, No. 1, PARLIAMENT-STREET, DAME-STREET, 1857, 18mo.

From a number of similar favourable testimonials, regarding "The Life of St. Laurence O'Toole," with which the author has been honoured by the Catholic Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy of Ireland, the following communications are respectfully submitted :

Letter from his Grace the Most Rev. Joseph Dixon, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland :

Armagh, 21*st December*, 1857.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—I trust that you will excuse my delay in acknowledging the receipt of your beautiful and learned "Life of St. Laurence O'Toole," which you so kindly sent me. I beg to thank you very sincerely for it, and to wish you all success in that department of literature, so interesting for us in Ireland, and to which you have turned your attention. Believe me, Rev. and Dear Sir, your obliged and faithful Servant,

† JOSEPH DIXON.

Rev. John O'Hanlon, 17, James'-street, Dublin.

Letter from his Grace the Most Rev. Patrick Leahy, D.D., Archbishop of Cashel :

Thurles, 16*th December*, 1857.

REV. DEAR SIR—I thank you very much for the copy of "The Life of St. Laurence O'Toole, which you have so kindly sent me. It does you much credit, indeed. I remain, Rev. Dear Sir, yours faithfully,

† P. LEAHY.

Rev. John O'Hanlon, 17, James'-street, Dublin.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"Though Father O'Hanlon has been anticipated by others who laboured in the same field, it must be acknowledged to his credit and critical acumen, that his

biography of St. Laurence is by far the best that has appeared as yet, and that the copious annotations he has collected from the most recondite sources throw additional light on that dark and dismal era, when 'Lorcan, son of Maurice,' prayed and toiled—alas, in vain !—to unite his countrymen in one grand defensive league against the invader."—*Nation.*

"We have lingered with delight over its pages, stood in imagination by the saint's side, and listened during his distinguished reception by Pope Alexander III., when that bright pillar of the Holy See appointed him Legate of all Ireland ; an office filled, even in our day, by a saintly prelate, on whom the Father of the Faithful has conferred a similar distinction. In our mind's eye we have beheld the heavenly calm on his smiling countenance, as he sank down to the sleep of the blessed, whilst a transcendant brilliance illumed the heavens over the Chateau D'Eu ; and, at length, closing the deeply touching records, we were transported to the church dedicated to the glorious saint."—*Catholic Telegraph.*

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